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Memorials

OF THE

Rebellion

OF

1569.

WHITE AND CARR, PRINTERS, SUNDERLAND.

R. Easton, Sculp.

Sir George Rivers.

Natis 45, AD, 1572.

From an original picture at Stanstam

MEMORIALS

OF THE

REBELLION

OF

1569.

"TRUTH IS THE DAUGHTER OF TIME."

Rev Sir Cuthbert Sharp

"For genuine illustration of history, biography, and manners, we must chiefly rely on ancient original papers. To them we must turn for the correction of past errors: for a supply of future materials; and for proofs of what hath already been delivered to us."—*Lodge.*

London:
JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON,
AND WILLIAM PICKERING.

1840.

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TO

JOHN BOWES,

OF STREATLAM CASTLE, Esq. M. P.

These Memorials

PRINCIPALLY COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

IN HIS POSSESSION,

ARE DEDICATED WITH EVERY SENTIMENT

OF PERSONAL REGARD

AND ESTEEM.

The Editor is proud to acknowledge the liberal aid he has received from every quarter, to which he has made application.

He was much assisted by the late Earl of Egremont, in the early part of his labours.

To Sir Frederick Madden, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, and the Rev. John Lingard, D. D., he is gratefully indebted for their constant and valuable assistance.

To Charles Lechmere and Robert Lemon, Esquires, of the State Paper Office; to C. G. Young, Esq., Registrar of the Herald's College; and to Ralph Eden, Esq., Clerk to the Privy Seal, he begs to express his grateful acknowledgments; and to Thomas Thompson, Esq., for many important documents, communicated with his characteristic kindness.

To Prince Alexandre Labanoff, M. Francisque Michel, and M. A. Teulet, the Editor retains the most lively sense of obligation.

To William Hutt, Esq., M. P., for his cordial and zealous aid during the progress of this work, he must always feel peculiarly grateful.

To Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, Esq., his obligations are deep and lasting; and also to Thomas Wheldon, of Barnardcastle, Esq., whose unwearied zeal in furthering his researches, knew no abatement.

He cannot close this list (which, if permitted, might have been considerably extended) without expressing his thanks to the Rev. S. Turner, for his constant and effective superintendence of this work, in the press, which he has watched with truly parental care.

" Thou remember'st,
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song.
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
To hear the sea-maid's music."

THE accidental discovery of the Bowes manuscripts* directed the attention of the editor to the rebellion of 1569, a portion of British history which has hitherto been veiled in considerable mystery.

To remove that veil, is the object of the present publication; which he presumes will be fully attained, by printing correct and faithful transcripts of the most interesting of those papers, and by adding, from authentic and original sources, such illustrations as might tend to throw additional light on their contents.

It is therefore no part of his intention to prefix any detailed history of the circumstances which led, either remotely or immediately, to the event in question, considering that the documents themselves furnish the best evidence from which the reader may draw his own conclusions; nor will

* The Bowes papers consist of a large collection of original letters, copies of letters, and other documents relating to the rebellion of 1569. Some fragments were discovered in a closet in the library at Gibside, which had been long shut up, and the remainder were found on the 6th of October, 1833, after a most laborious search by Mr. Hutt and the Editor, in an old deal box, thrown carelessly aside, in the room used as an armoury by the Derwent and Gibside yeomanry. They were in very bad condition; but by dint of industrious patching and pasting, with great care and labour, they now form eighteen folio volumes, with perfect indexes to the whole, and are deposited at Streatlam Castle.

he notice the successive and rapid changes which had taken place in the religion of the state, during the brief reigns of the immediate predecessors of Elizabeth. That would open too wide a field for disquisition, and carry him beyond his prescribed limits.

The civil administration of Elizabeth had created considerable dissatisfaction amongst the "antient nobility." They viewed with jealousy and suspicion the encreasing confidence which the sovereign bestowed on Cecil; but their efforts to remove him from the councils of the queen, were unavailing.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the protestant religion again became the religion of the state; yet it numbered few partisans in the north; and there was no part of the British Empire where the "first pale and struggling ray of the reformation, broke with more unwelcome lustre." Sir Ralph Sadler states in 1569 (vol. 2, p. 55), "there be not in all this countrey, ten gentilmen that do favour and allowe of her majesties procedings in the cause of religion;" and he describes the common people as ignorant, superstitious, and blinded with the "olde popish doctryne." *

The "antient faith" still "lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was ever so little stirred, came to the top."

The arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in 1568, whose beauty and misfortunes excited univeral interest, more particularly affected the minds of those, who regarded her as the next in succession to the throne, and as the chief stay and support of the "antient faith."

* Sir George Bowes writes to Sadler, after the rebellion in Feb. 1569-70, that the "olde good wyll" of the people is "deepe graftyd in their harts, to their nobles and gentlemen of this country which fled."--*Bowes M S. Copy.*

Whether the Duke of Norfolk's unsuccessful attempt to marry the Queen of Scots, was first moved by pity or ambition, it was equally fatal to himself and his friends.

The recent publication of the dispatches of La Mothe Fenelon,* the French ambassador, and the "Memorias de la Academia de Historia," (vol. vii.) by Gonzalez, demonstrate that the Duke was not unwilling to receive the friendly countenance of foreign powers; and Mary's ambassador the Bishop of Ross, and Ridolphi,† a Florentine merchant,

* The volumes already published bring the letters down to the 27th Dec. 1569.

On the 19th Nov. 1569, the king (Charles IX) desires his ambassador to consult with the Bishop of Ross, and always to favour the Catholic party, and if possible sow dissention and discord amongst the nobility (seigneurs), setting one against the other, so as their designs of aiding his rebellious subjects may be thwarted and diverted, and by this means they will be unable to give them any assistance.

On the 24th Nov. the queen mother (Catherine de Medicis) desires him to render every assistance in procuring a marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scotts; but to do so with dexterity and prudence, so that the Queen of England and her ministers shall not discover it.

On the 14th January following, the queen-mother writes, to desire the ambassador will (if the troubles are yet existing) comfort the chiefs, and assure them that her son (Charles IX.) will give them every assistance, and even succours in money; and on the very same day her son writes to desire the ambassador will wait upon Elizabeth, and assure her of the pleasure and satisfaction he feels at the *defeat of the rebels*, and to say that he never expected any other result, "being a just judgment of God, who will not permit the subjects of a prince to rise in arms against him on any account whatever;" and that he wishes her kingdom may be always quiet and peaceable, hoping that these little troubles will incline her to use her good offices to allay the troubles in his own kingdom; and that she will not give way to solicitations to favour the Rebels in France, contrary to the faith and promises of the treaties of peace.

On the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, *Fenelon* congratulates himself, that in the accusation against him, the 2,000 crowns which he had given to his Secretary, were never mentioned. And in the ambassador's letter to the king, 5th June 1572, giving an account of the duke's last dying speech, he says, "that he admitted he had not kept his promise to the queen, to break off all communication with the Queen of Scotts; and that he had received a letter from the Pope through Ridolphi, but that he never intended or imagined any thing against the queen his mistress."

On the 28th of August he solicits from the queen-mother, that the order (of St. Michael) which the duke of Norfolk wore, and which he had demanded, but had not yet received, might be conferred upon him, for the dignity of his station on days of ceremony.—M S. *Archives de France.*

The publication of Fenelon's dispatches, has removed the error first stated by Carte from a wrong translation, and followed by Robertson and Gilbert Stuart, viz. that the marriage contract between Mary and the Duke, was entrusted to Fenelon. No such contract was ever in existence.

† The participation of Ridolphi is matter of history, yet the following additional particulars will not be uninteresting or misplaced:—

Leicester and Cecil write on the 19th October, 1569, to Walsingham, in whose house she was confined, that they had received the answers of Ridolphi, the Florentine mer-

were deeply concerned in advancing the attainment of this object.

These memorials will tend greatly to elucidate the origin, progress, and termination of the Rebellion.

If the Duke of Norfolk, the next in rank to the Queen, the most popular man in the kingdom, "a person of unblemished honour, and as yet, of unspotted loyalty," had joined his friends in the north, the result might have been productive of the most lasting and momentous effects on the destinies of the empire.

chant, to the articles propounded to him, which they have communicated to the Queen; but she "findeth by his answers, some of them to be farr otherwise then the truth is;" and as he says that he will only speak on some things to the Queen, you will desire him to put them in writing.

On the 11th Nov. Walsingham is directed to say to him; "that although her majesty findeth his misusage towards her and her estate such as he, being here privileged to live, and as a Merchant, hath nevertheless intermeddled in causes of estate and matters betwixt her majesty and other princes; yet she is satisfied that he shall be released on giving bond of £1000, not to "deal directly or indirectly in any matters applying to her majesty or the state of this realm." He soon afterwards left the kingdom and presented himself to the Duke of Alva, with letters of credence from the Queen of Scotts and the Duke of Norfolk; and the Duke of Alva, in a letter to the King of Spain (7th May, 1571) gives an account of an interview he had with him, in which he stated the melancholy condition of Scotland and the Queen, who was in continual fear of personal violence, and is constantly deceived. That the English, however, pity her as having a just title to the crown, and on account of the catholick religion; that the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Norfolk is of the highest importance; that he had never appeared a good catholic, as he was obliged to dissimulate; but that all his actions, and even the education of his children, proved him to be such. That if the Duke were once secretly married, he intended, with the aid of his friends, to seize the person of Elizabeth and the tower of London, and give the Queen of Scots her liberty; which, however, could not well be done without the support of foreign princes, and the "correspondence" of the Pope. He said the Duke was strong enough to maintain himself against all enemies for forty days, but he wished to have 6000 harquebussiers at his disposal from the King of Spain, &c.

The duke in "general terms" replied, that he might inform the Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, that the king his master wished nothing more earnestly than to see them out of their difficulties, and the Catholic religion restored. In his letter to the king, he says, he cannot fully confide in Ridolphi, seeing what nation he belongs to, and that he has inconsiderately repeated what he said to him, to others who are not of the council. The duke advises the king to consider well; that the Queen of England would no doubt, if she was placed in difficulty, throw herself into the arms of France, and marry the Duke of Anjou; when they would have France, England, and Germany for enemies. He further recommends the king to do nothing to begin this enterprize; but if the Queen of England should die, either by a natural death or otherwise; or that she should fall into the power of the duke of Norfolk, that then he would assist them with 6000 men, &c.—*MS. Archives des Pays bas. Bruxelles.*

The confederates, however, having no controlling spirit* to direct their proceedings, wasted their time in idle and angry discussions, and their councils were distracted by conflicting opinions; and when the frequency of their meetings attracted the jealous observation of the government, they still remained in doubt and hesitation, till the indiscreet zeal of a few headstrong and reckless partizans hurried the Earls into measures for which they were unprepared; and although their rank and station, and the "cause" they espoused, drew many to their standard, who

* The duke constantly and vehemently denied all participation in the northern rebellion (letter to P. Council, 14th Dec. 1570); and with relation to his proposed marriage with the Queen of Scotts, he declares in his confessions (10th Nov. 1571), that he was urged to it by Leicester, who told him the Queen's "surety" would be best proved by the marriage of the Queen of Scots with "some Englishman; and to be plain with you, said he, *I know no man so fett as yourself;*" and when the duke objected the accusations pending against her, he said, "he thought all things was not so ill as they were made." The difficulty was to break the matter to the Queen. Leicester undertook to do so, but failed.

In these confessions, he enters into an account of such matters as he had omitted on former occasions: he says that he was "walking with Mr. Marshall of Barwick, when her highness sawe me, she called mee, and begann merelie inquiringe what newes was abroad. I told her I hard of none. 'No,' said her Majestie, 'you come from London, and canne tell no newes of a marriadge,'" when the conversation was interrupted. The acconnt of what occurred at Guilford deserves distinct notice. "I, coming up one morning unawares into the previe chamber at Gilford, I found there one of Mr. More's children playing upon a lute and singinge, her Majestie sitting uppon the thresholde of the dore, my Lord of Leicester kneelinge by her highnes; but her Majestie commanded me to come by, into the chamber. Not long after, my Lo. of Leicester ryses and came to me, leaving her highnes hearing the child, and told me, that as I was coming, he was dealing with her Majestie in my behalf; to the which I answered, yf I had known so much, I would not have come upp; but I desired to know howe he found her Majestie, when he told me indifferent well, and that her highness had promised to speak with me at Thornham, at my Lord of Arundells. Before her highness came to Thornham, her highnes commanded me to sitt downe, most unworthie, at her Majestie's board, wherein the end of dynner her majestie gave me a *nipp*, sayeinge, that she would wishe me to *take good heed to my pillowe*.[a] I was abashed at her Majesties speech, but I thought it not fitt time nore place there to trouble her." The Queen afterwards charged him at Tichfield on his allegiance "to deale no further with the Scottish cause;" after which, feeling himself shunned and in disgrace, he withdrew from court; and when the rumours of a rising were spread all over the kingdom, and the duke was ordered to attend at court, the French Ambassador in vain did every thing in his power to prevent it, being certain that he and the suspected lords would be sent to the tower; and he is completely at a loss to account for their conduct, and comes at last to the satisfactory conclusion, "that they are subject to be beheaded and cannot avoid it, because they come of a race which is naturally given that way."

[a] *Cambden says,—The queen's words were "to beware upon what pillow he leaned his head,' perhaps in allusion to the old French proverb, "prendre conseil de son oreiller."*

beheld in the "rising," the eagerly desired triumph of the "antient faith," it was soon discovered that, in the leaders, whom circumstances had placed in the front of this perilous enterprise, there was neither unity of council, singleness of purpose, commanding talent, nor moral courage.

The Earl of Sussex,* a nobleman of great experience and tried ability, was president of the council of York, when the first vague rumours of some intended movement excited uni-

* The peculiar circumstances under which the Earl of Sussex was placed, give an importance to his letters, which require no apology. He was suspected by the queen of *leaning* towards the proposed match of his friend and relation, the Duke of Norfolk, and her suspicions of his fidelity would naturally be encreased by the desertion of his brother from York, to join the standard of the rebels.

He writes to the queen from York, 30th Jan. 1568-9, that knowing she always wished "to have the Scottish Quenes cause upryghtly heard, *and a secrete inclinatyon to favour her*, so ferre as with honour you might;" he is sorry to find that she is recompensed with "unkyndness and sclanderous devyses." On the 4th Feb. he thinks it necessary to remind the queen of his former, rather extraordinary family opinion, at leave taking, "which then was, now is, and by my grandfather's rule ever wyll be: never to truste eny Scotte, in eny cause that tochethe his countrye, farther then ye have the suertye in your awne hands."—*S. P.*

On the 13th February, he writes to Cecil, that Lord Herries sups with him; who "wished that the offence that the Quenes Majestie, had taken, for the quartering of the arms of England in the French kings tyme, were forgotten."—*S. P.* This was a crime, however, which Elizabeth never forgave.

On the 11th Sept., he writes to Cecil, in reply to some enquiries of his presumed "liking" of the Duke of Norfolk's marriage, that the duke sent him word by Cantrell "that the Erles of Arundell, Pembroke, and Leicester had ernestly moved him to marrye the Scottishe queen, wherupon he requyred my advyce as a frend, whom he trusted. Wherunto I awnswered, that I wowld gyve no advyce, untill I fyrste knew how the Quenes Majesty lyked of it; and therupon I styll deferd; and yf any person hath at anye tyme sayd otherways of me, or that I knew therof sooner, or knew more than I wryte to you, or ever delte further theryn, I saye in playne termes, *he hathe sayd untrewly.*" "I am glade you fynde my Lord of Norfolk's case (since he made you pryve to this matter) to be honorable and loyall; for which I truste he wyll not dygresse in this, or any other matter; and truly I know no further of his case than I have wrytten."—*Orig. Calig.* 1. 324.

On the 29th Sept. he writes to Cecil, "God put into her majesties harte to contynew her favor towards my Lord of Norfolk, whome she hathe heretofore derly loved for his juste desertes; and into his lordships harte to contenew towards her, that as I stedfastly truste he will, that loyaltie which in all his actions wherwith I have been acquainted, he hath always had, with as great love and dutiful desyre to serve her majestie, as ever any man had, or could have."—*S. P.*

On the 10th Oct. he writes, that the causes of the rumours are "yet unknowen, the mater ether was not at all, or as I thinke, is now at an ende. The Quene at her pleasuer (may) command; all sorts I think will obey. I can wryte no more than I knowe, and I think I am presently, have beene, and I truste will be assured, of a suffycyente force for her majesties service, in all events."—*S. P.*

On the same day he writes, that the "Earl of Westmoreland in the rysing of the bruts. on his way towards me, offered very honorably to retorne presently." On the 13th, he writes, that from Lord Hunsdon, he finds the Queen had heard, he had been a "great fur-

versal attention. The committal of the Duke of Norfolk to the tower, with the arrest of the Lords Arundel, Lumley, and Pembroke, increased the excitement; but on the 27th Oct. he felt assured that the worst was past, and that the public peace would not be disturbed. However he was soon undeceived. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had been designated by popular opinion as the principal movers, were called before the council of

therer and dealer in these Scottishe matters; hut her majestie upon my letters dothe not credite the report."—*S. P.*

The duke was committed on the 10th, and on the 19th October, Sussex writes to Cecil—" I am by nature bownd to love my Lord of Norfolk, and with the same, bownd in lyk degree to love the Quenes Majestie; for that I am in bludde as near to her majestie as to him; and besyds, I am by the laws of God and man, bownd as a subject, to serve her majestie only, as my soverayne Ladye; wherein I will never fayle in any parte, for eny love I shall bere to my Lord of Norfolk, or to any other person lyving. For I nether do nor wyll love him, in eny other, but as with dewty to her Majestie I may, and I do, and will love and serve her without exceptyon; and therin wyll spend agaynst all the world, lyfe, land, and goods: and therefore yf ther showld be eny rebellyon within the lymyts of this comyssion, I wyll nether wynk, nor looke through my fynger at the Rebells, but will do my uttermost, *bona fide*, to looke into ther harte bludds that shall rebelle, who so ever they be. And thereof (though my comyssyone be but sclender), her Majestie may be assured, and what so ever eny person shall misjudge of me, her Majestie and you know what I have wrytten to you, and I affyrme to you bothe, and to all the world, by these, that my hande shall never be shewed to prove myself a lyer."—*S. P.*

On the 23rd October, he writes—" The bruts were so general, as indede there may be fownd thousands of reportes, but hetherto not an auctor, as in lyke cases, many tymes falleth owte. The causes be rather suspected, than knoone; and therfore, it is dangerouse for many respectes to wryte over hastely in suche cases; but yf ther be eny hydden matter here, fete for the Quenes Majestie to knowe, her Majestie at my coming shall (I truste) understand, of all is paste and what I think fete to be don hereafter.

My grete care hathe bene, howe to kepe quyet and to avoyde open actyon, which I have don, and I hope, with God's grace wyll do; and when the wynter is a lyttell further shotte on, so as the tyme of the yere avoyde the actyons, then it may be good to enquyre of causes, wheryn (as the case standeth) I may better be an advyser then an executor; and therefore the soner her Majestie wyll lycence me to repayre to her after hallowtyde, under coller of my owne causes, in the lawe, the better. I thinke it wyll be for her servyce, and when I come, her Majestie shall see I have bene, am, and wyl be, only, and holy hers. I wryte this to you only, and to be declared to her Majestie only, and so I beseche her Majestie it maye reste; for yf it go further, it wyll be known here before I here from you, and thereof may come hurte."—*S. P.*

And on the 27th October, he writes again, that his brother, Sir Henry, had been told by Lord Hunsdon, that the Queen had said, that the Duke of Norfolk had made him (Sussex) privy to the marriage, and made most account of " his liking therof," and that Cantrell had said, that he " well liked the matter," which the earl fully denies, and repeats that the duke only broke the matter to him, by Cantrell: and he declared he would give no advice or assent, until he knew how the queen would " lyke and allowe thereof;" and he beseeches Cecil to desire the queen will not " credyte devyses against me, that have always *hytched my staffe at her doore only*;" and concludes his letter by saying, that all resteth in good quiet, and " *I see no lyklyhood of the contrary.*"—*S. P.*

The rebellion immediately followed, and proved the fallacy of the Earl's prediction.

York, of which they were members: he was satisfied with their assurances, and trusted in their professions of loyalty and devotion.

The rumours encreased; the Earls, after refusing to obey the Queen's commands to repair to her presence, committed themselves irrevocably, by entering Durham in arms, on the 14th of November.

For a short period they acted with vigour, and proceeded rapidly to Ripon, Wetherby, and Tadcaster, and finally they assembled on Clifford Moor. The Queen of Scots was suddenly removed from Tutbury* to Coventry, and the Earls hesitated what course to pursue. The Earl of Sussex, with Sadler and Hunsdon,† felt insecure in York, which however they durst not leave on account of their inferiority in cavalry. They could not act on the offensive, as their levies came slowly in; and they were reduced to the mortifying alternative of keeping a watchful eye on the movements of

* Lord Shrewsbury writes to Cecil from Tutbury Castle, 21st Nov. 1569.

"Sir,—Upon intelligence instantly received, that the power of the two erles was com to Tadcaster on Saturday last, eight miles on this side York, and ment to take up the bridge and stoppe the passage of the Lo. Lieut. I thought it my part to signifie the same, though I trust her Majestie be otherwise advertised at large, thereof.

That it may please her highnes to have consideracion unto this charge; I will do my dutie with the ayd of my Lo. Huntingdon and the Viscount. Having no other power but my servantes and tenants, for want of further commission and methodes to levy any force.

Certenly this castle is very wek, and not able to resiste, but only against a soden.

Trusting therefore that such order is alredy given by her Majestie, that the enemyes shall be met and resisted in the feld before they approach nighe unto this place; I have desired my Lo. of Huntingdon and the Viscount to be here with me to-morrow, to consorte and tak order the best we can for her Majesties service.

The enemyes wer not above fifty-four myles on Saturday last from this castle."—*Orig. S. P.*

The order to remove the Queen of Scotts "to be safely kept and garded," is dated 22nd Nov., and she arrived at Coventry on the 25th Nov., and was taken back to Tutbury on the 2nd Jannary following.—*S. P.*

† Lord Hunsdon, from his near relationship to the Queen, and from his blunt and open character generaly, speaks his mind freely; and therefore a few extracts from his letters must always be interesting in relation to the times in which he lived, and to the period of these memorials.

Sir Francis Knolles writes to him from Bolton, (where he was attending the Queen of Scotts,) for more troops; and then says, "yf thys Quene shall onse perceive that the

the Rebels. The Earl of Sussex (now Lieutenant-general of the army in the north) directed Sir George Bowes, in the event of their proceeding southwards, to join him immediately with the northern horsemen.

Quenes Majesty will deale playnly with her, too hyr *dysgrace*, then seurly she wyll attempt and practyse too skape away; and from thys howse she myght passe into Skotland, and nevyr come yn towne nor vyllage; and as for the cuntrey, we looke for no dylygent reskew at theyr hands, but rather we feare they would lawhe (laugh) yn theyr sleves at us, yf she should escape."...."I doo see no way how her Majestie can reconsyle thys Quene and her subjects too her Majesties comodytie and safety, and too preserve my Lord of Murray from hys overthrow, and suche as be hyr Majesties frends yn Skotland, and too avoyd the marryage of the Hambletons with thys Quene, and therby to avoyd the cumyng yn hethar of the Frenche, too whom the Hambletons ar utterly dedycate, unless yt be by an Englyshe maryage." He then hints at the possibility of the marriage of the Scottish Queen with "my cosyn George Cary" (Hunsdon's son), but desires this letter to be kept secret, until it may be seen whether her Majesty wyll deale *favorably* with her, or whyther she wyll *disgrace her*.—*Copy*, *S. P.*

On the 9th Aug. 1569, Hunsdon writes to Cecil from Berwick: "I trust the comon speche in Skotland and that dayly cums from London and the court ys untrewe, which ys, that my Lord of Norfolke shall marry the Skottyshe Queene; and yt ys now the rather belevyd, by cawse she hathe sent yntoo Skotland too be dyvorcyd from Bothewel; yff ytt be trew, I am sory for ytt."—*S. P.*

And again on the 30th Aug., he writes, "I think you ar nott ignorant of my epynyon of that maryage. I love and honor the one so well, as I wold be right sorry ytt should sake place for any matter or reason I can ytt conceve. I know nott what speche ys of ytt theane, but seurly yt ys comonly spoken and beleivyd both yn Scotland and yn all thys part of the Northe; and as I can lerne, proceeds from the faction, eyther for that they woold have ytt so, or els too put sume dowghts yn the heds of thyr contrarys."—*S. P.*

After the rebellion, he writes on the 13th January, 1569-70, in relation to the Queen's continued suspicious distrust of Sussex, "no servys that he hath dune att any tyme, can be acceptable to her Majestie, thohe with travell and payne he hath consumyd the better halfe of his lyfe: he wyll seke with quyetnes to end the rest of hys dayse and gyve place to othars, and that wyll be th' end." From Berwick.

In reference to the Queen of Scotts, he says in another letter, which would tend to shew that obedience was more powerful than principle. "The practysys are grete for theyr quene, and therfor the Quenes Majestie had nede too looke well unto ytt."

Ytt ys playnly gyven owt, that my L. of Lecester was sent to her, and that she shall returne to Tudberry, and so shortly be returnyd home. These and such lyke, makes men yn some manneryng not knowing whatt way too take; but yf her Majestie wyll make a full resolucyon what she wyll doo, so as they may know what too trust untoo hyr Majestie *may doo, and have dune what she wyl.*"—*S. P.* The cruel policy which Elizabeth pursued towards the Queen of Scotts, requires no additional testimony here—yet, so early as 1565, she encouraged the Lords of the congregation; and the Earl of Bedford writes to the Queen from Berwick (28th Sept. 1565,) that he has sent them, "according to your Majesties direction, £1000,"—*S. P.*; and to the most inveterate of Mary's enemies, (the Earl of Murray) she writes, after she hears of his being wounded,—"There is nothing in my powre *earthly*, wherwith we might helpe to recover you, that shuld be over deare to us to yeld for your comfort."—29th Jan. 1569-70.—*Orig. S P.*

Lord Hunsdon writes in regard to Sussex, 24th March 1569-70, "I am sorry too see my Ld. Lieut. cum downe with no cowntenance, for hys lyvetenancy, it is for hyr servyce. I assure you ytt rather hynders hyr servys then furthers yt, for I knowe the world lookyd for hys beyng of the pryvey councel at the lest, whych had been more benefycyall too hyr servys (than) any comodyte too hym, more then the honor of hytt ....God send her many so well able to serve hyr yn all respects, whereof seurly she hathe *small store*."—*S. P.*

From whatever cause—whether from "mistrusting themselves," according to Holinshed; from "disagreement amongst themselves," according to Lady Northumberland; or, more probably, from perceiving that no response was made to their movements by the great body of the Catholics of England—the rebels suddenly retreated, and returned to the county of Durham; where, instead of pursuing vigorous measures to restore their "moral force," and increase their numbers, they wasted their time and strength in laying siege to Barnard Castle; during whose prolonged and gallant resistance, the army of the south, commanded by the Lords Warwick and Clinton, arrived at Doncaster; when Sussex, thus powerfully supported, advanced rapidly towards the county of Durham, and on his approach the Earls, without waiting for an attack, suddenly dismissed their infantry, and flying with their cavalry towards Hexham, afterwards took refuge in Scotland.

With respect to the Catholics, he writes, 6th July, 1570—"I dare not wryght what I wold, but the Lord deffend her Majestie from the practysys of all papysts, for nott one of them loves her." *S. P.*—When he was desired to reconcile parties, he writes from Berwick, 29th Dec. 1571, "I have wrytten too hyr Majesty, that the only way too accorde the matters of Skotland by fayre meanes, *ys too deale harder wythe the Scotishe Quene;* for so long as she remayne yn thys sorte, hyr party lyves styll yn hope of hyr delyverance by one practyse or uther, which ys the pryncypall cawse of theyr obstynacy."—S. *P.*

On the 20th of March, 1571-2, he writes, aparently on the subject of the Duke's trial which took place on the 16th of January, and who was then in the tower, waiting the execution of his sentence: "God forbyd that any body showld advyse or counsell her too be blody, yf hyr seurty may be without blude, butt yf matters fall owt so, and appeare manyfest that she cannot be seure without ytt, better for sum members too be cutt of then the hole boddy too perryshe. Let hyr remember the wyse and pollytyke government of all hyr predecessors, and of all the prynces of the world, whyche ys, *too spare none that shall dare towche Gods holy anoyntyd,* no nott theyr owne suns, yf any be so unnaturall, and by ambycyon so trayterus; for the more wayse that any ys bownd too theyr soveren and forgets the same, the grevesor punyshment he deserves."—S. *P.*

On the 9th August, 1572, from Berwick, respecting the attainted Earl of Northumberland, then in his custody, he writes, "Yf hys brothers affectyon towards the Scots quene and hys uther dealyng towards the quenes majestie be suche as ys comonly spoken, hyr majestie shall doo herself a worse turne by settyng the one up, then by keeping the uther alyve, besyds, her majestie shall lose the benefyt of his lyvynge; and as many as hathe anv gyfte of her majestye, of any thyng of his, *may pyk a sallett.*—S. P.

On the 28th Dec. 1572, he writes to Burghley, "I cannot forget how your Lordship dyd wyll me to holde yt for a principle, that popery and treason went always together."—*S P.* Thus shewing very clearly the motive which influenced the conduct of Cecil.

Thus terminated an enterprise, begun without foresight —conducted without energy, and ending in dastardly and inglorious flight: entailing on the families of those concerned, lasting misery; and inflicting on the leaders, attainder, proscription, and death.

Lord Scrope, brother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk, when he heard from Cecil, "declaring the manner of the dukes going to Kenninghall," writes, that he hopes the duke "will continew and stande her highness true, faithful, and obedient servant and subject, as by God he is naturally appointed, and by her majesties goodness moste firmly bound; and for that he hath doune, if the same have growen upon feere of her highness dyspleasure, as is advertised, I trust her Majestie shall fynde him to the end, as he before hathe ben reported; for that *feare is a greate token and perfecte signe of obedence*. 5 Oct. 69, Carlisle.—S. P.

Perhaps *fear* had some influence on the mind of Elizabeth, for the Bishop of Ross writes to the duke, 11 Oct. 1570, that Cecil, speaking of his proposed marriage with the Queen of Scotts, said "the Queen of England *fears* that the Queen of Scotts and Norfolke wold waxe *over great* in that case."—S. P.

The duke's memory has been ably vindicated by his worthy descendant, Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, Esq. He was betrayed by Leicester, misled by the Bishop of Ross, and his motives were maligned by Ridolphi, whom even the Duke of Alva could not credit; who calls him *un gran parlanchin*, (a great chatterer); and Sadler, who was with the Queen of Scotts at Sheffield, writes to Lord Burghley (9th Jan., 1571-2) that Mary says, "The Bishop of Ross is a *feareful priest*, who will say whatever you will have him to say;' and of Ridolphi, that he is a man "to her unknown: she never saw him, ne hathe had to do with him."—S. P.

A letter from Dean Nowell to Lord Burghley, 25th March, 1572, may be quoted to shew the humility of his mind under the daily expectation of death—when the first noble of the land, was reduced to the necessity of mending his own stockings:—"I have heard the *late* Duke of Norfolk say, that he, having no more paires of *hosen*, that he will wear, saving only one pair (for such as have any velvet upon them he will not wear, being a condemned person) hath been driven sundry times to mend and patch the same, for that he feareth if he should procure a new pair, it would be misconstrued of some, as a sign of his hope and desire of longer life."—S. P.

Lord Burghley directs Lord Shrewsbury to inform Mary of the duke's death, and Mary in return (10th June) writes, "We have heard by the Erle of Shrewsbury the *unpleasant newes*, which, he sayd, you had requyred him to imparte unto mee;" and signs herself, "Your veri good frind."—S. P.

Lord Shrewsbury writes, (11th June, 1572) "She fell by grefe of the Dukes dethe into a passion of sycknes, as I last wrytt; and so hath she evir cynse contynewed, and kepeth hur bedd. Hur pepul seemes to doute her escape, Saturday next, and if she be so syke indeed as aparans she seemeth, and her pepull make report off, she is lyk hardly to escape." —*Sheffield Castle*.—S. P.

Quanto lacera più, tanta più bella.

PLATES, &c.

P. xx.—The remains of a tattered banner, or perhaps tabard, still suspended over the Bowes vault at Barnard Castle.

The portrait of Sir George Bowes is from an original picture at Streatham.

The portrait of the Earl of Northumberland is from an original picture at Petworth, carefully copied by direction of the late Earl of Egremont, expressly for this work.

The portrait of the Earl of Westmorland, is from an original picture in the possession of the Earl of Abergavenny. When William, Lord Abergavenny, grandfather of the present Earl, removed from the ancient family seat, Comfort Park, in the manor of Birling, in the County of Kent, to Kidbrook, in Sussex, where he built a new mansion, he brought this picture with him. When the present Earl sold Kidbrook, in 1803, to the late Lord Colchester, he removed this portrait to Eridge Castle, where it now remains.

The portrait of the Countess of Westmorland, is taken from the tomb of her father, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at Framlingham, and was presented by Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, Esq.

P. 87—The arms and crest of Neville, formerly on the battlements of Raby Castle, now built into the wall of a house in the Park.

P. 228—The inner lid of a chest in the Chancery at Durham. The first coat, gules, a cinquefoil ermine, with a bordure sable bezantée, is D'Aungerville, or rather Bishop Bury, who held the see from 1333 to 1345. It was not uncommon for ecclesiastics to assume the name of the place where they were born, and the bishop took the name of [Edmonds] bury, although he was the son of Sir Richard Aungerville,

and the chest would thus appear to belong to the period of Bury's pontificate—2. shield ; gules, a cross argent, between four cinquefoils, is unknown—3. England and France —4. Neville, which is not accounted for. [Ralph de Neville was guardian of the see before the appointment of Bury.] The arms of Neville and the strange supporters [if such they be] are sufficiently curious to merit preservation and notice.

Pp. 209 & 305—Arms of Neville at Brancepath.

P. 311—Arms and crest of Neville, at Lumley Castle.

P. 312—A eradle, which by tradition belonged to the last Earl of Westmoreland. It was for many years in the possession of the family of Alderman Kirton ; afterwards of the Rev. W, N. Darnell, Rector of Stanhope ; then of the Hon. T, H. Liddell, and now of Viscount Burghersh. It is painted with the arms of the last Earl of Westmoreland.

P. 316—Arms and crest of Neville (much decayed) on the Chancery, Durham.

P. 317—Conference of Nicholas Morton with the Earls ; from Bishop Carleton's "thankfull remembrance of God's mercy."

P. 318—Arms of Bowes, on Streatlam Castle.

P. 420—This is from an antient cup, in the possession of Sir William Chaytor, bearing the arms of Bowes as well as the subject of this engraving. The tradition is, that some "gallant Bowes," in pursuit of a Spanish galleon, after a smart action, when the vessel was sinking, leapt overboard to save a drowning Spaniard.

For most of the drawings of the wood-cuts, the editor is indebted to the chaste and accurate pencil of George Ormsby, Esq. ; and for many original drawings and much local information, he has to thank Mr. Matthew Thompson, of Durham.

MEMORIALS
OF
THE REBELLION.

The earliest document relating to the Rebellion, is the following diary of Sir George Bowes—apparently the copy of a letter giving an account of his time:—

"I met the Earl of Westmerland of Saturday next after St. Matthew's day,* or there about, as our ways crossed, his to Branspeth, and mine to the Isle:† and appointed then to meet the said Earl of Westmerland of Wednesday next, after our hawking: which appointment I kept, but he came not, nor sent, though he were not far thence.

* 21st September.

† In the parish of Sedgefield. "The mansion-house, which stands on a little plot of rising ground, surrounded by a marshy level, always liable to be inundated by the sluggish waters of the Skerne, still exhibits the wreck of an old manor-house, projecting gavels, narrow lights, divided by stone mullions and the ruins of gardens and orchards."—*Surtees, vol.* 3, *p.* 43.

In the time of Sir G. Bowes, on a survey, it is stated to consist of "a fayre hall, with boords, thrystells, and fowrmes; and a fayre chymney, wyth one chaymer above covered with slayte. A fayre parlowre, well syled, and in good case of glassinge; and on yt a greate chamer covered with slayte. A lobbye, from the sayd greate chaymer into a galerye covered with leade, being of xvii yeards of lengthe, and iiij yeards and d. broode." Other chambers are mentioned, as well as a "goodley barn and stables for 24 or 30 horses, a leade that will salt iij oxen." The extent of the fields is not mentioned; but the park is of "100 days' mowing," and the "grene abowte the howse will beare calves."—*Bowes's MS. vol* 10. *p.* 38. The Isle was alienated by Sir William, eldest son of Sir George Bowes, to the family of Tempest; and it is now the property of the Earl of Eldon, by purchase from the present Marchioness of Londonderry.

I received a letter, directed from the Lord President to the Earl of Westmerland, Lord Ewrye, and me, to be at York the next Sunday after Michaelmas day, which, after I had read, I returned to the said Earl again.

Thursday I stayed at the Ile. Friday, being the thirtieth of September, I rode to Streytlam, where I received a commandment from the Sheriff of Yorkshire, to be at York, with the Lord President, in the [Sunday] morning next after, by eight of the clock.

I rode of Saturday to Aske; of Sunday to York, where I found the Lord President and the Lord of Hunsdon.

I rode of Monday after to Cawood, and rested there that night; Tuesday, to York; and Wednesday after, to Cawood again, where I met Francis Slingesbye, and tarried there that night, and rode of Thursday to York.

Friday, to Allerton; where I met by the way, at Borowebrige, with Francis Tankerde, which brought me word from Francis Slingesbye, that I should be laid for, to be taken, which caused me that night, after I had supped, to remove my lodgings to Danbye, a servant's house of mine.

Saterday, the courts at Allerton,* whereunto I returned, and that night, riding by Sockburne, I went to the Ile.

Of Sundaye, I rode to the Bishops of Durham,† to Akeland, and at night returned to the Ile. Of Mondaye, to Sockburne. Tuesdaye, the leventh of October, I rode to Awkeland, and spoke with the Bishop of Durham, and rode that night to Sockburne.

Wedensday, I rode to Milthroppe, and returned of the morrow to Cowton, where I taryed to the Monday after, being the seventeenth of October, which day I rode to

* He was the Bishop's Seneschal by letters patent, 10th March, 1567. Appointed Steward 1560.

† James Pilkington, the first protestant bishop, "who may be supposed to have been peculiarly obnoxious to the insurgents, both as a protestant and as a married prelate, fled into the South, with his wife and children, on the first alarm."—*Surtees, v.* 1, *p.* 77.

Aske, and so by Kyrkbye of the Hill, where my wife taryed me; and so through Barnarde Castle to Streytlam, where I stayed to Mondaye, the twenty-fourth of October, at which day the Queen's Highness' Courts of Barnard Castell began, and continued to the Wedensday after; at all which I was.

Thursday, I rested at Streytlam, and appointed the Bailifs, or their Deputies, to meet me, for orders of things in that L[ordship.]

Friday, the twenty [eighth] of October, rode to Cowton, where I tarried all Saturday, and at night the pursuyvant delivered me the Lords of the Queen's Highness' Council's letter.

Sundaye, I rested there, and upon Monday rode to York.*"

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes. 9th October :—

Good Sir George,—Upon occasyon of lewde bruts† spredd abrode, I sent for th' Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and others of the Counsell,‡ to meet me at Yorke yestredaye; at whose comyng I opened to them what I had hard, and requyred advyse how to prevent the yll doyngs, yf ther were eny suche, and to suppress it, yf it should burste owt to eny actyon. And as we all hoped those bruts would soon take end withowt eny yll actyon, so ar both th' Erles returned to ther howses, with assured promyse, not only to do ther beste to serch owt and apprehend the auctors, but also to bestir themselves in the Quene's Majesty's servyce for the present suppressing of eny that should attempt any open actyon of dysorder. Whereupon, at ther requeste, the Quene's letters ar dyrected to them, and you joyned in that [which] is dyrected to th' Erle of Westmerland, as thereby you shall perceyve. Of

* Bowes's MS. Vol. II. p. 1; endorsed by Sir G. Bowes "my doyngs."
† Wicked rumours.
‡ The Council of the North.

these matters I praye you advertyse the byshop, who is also of the same commyssion, and thus I trust you [will find that] all is blown out with the smoke § * * * * from Yorke * * * * * Octobr, 1569.

Yr. assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Orig.—Endorsed 9 *Oct.—Bowes's MS. Vol. I. No.* 1.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes :—

"Yestr nyght I receyved letters that my L[ord] of Norfolk* was styll at Mr. Wentworth's house, and Sir Henry Nevell† attended on him; my L[ord] of Arrundell‡ kepethe his chamber in the towne, and my L[ord] Steward‖ in the corte. I truste drawyng on of tyme dothe myty-

§ Even the wariness of Cecil was also beguiled by the professions of the Earls; he treats the matter as lightly as Sussex, and writes to the Lords Shrewsbury and Huntingdon on the 13th October:—"It may be that you "have or shall here of a fond rumor styrred upp the vith of this month, in "the North Ryding and the Bishoprick, of a rysyng shuld be: but it was "a vayne *smoke*, without any spark of any account."—*Lodge, vol.* 2. *p.* 26.

* Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. Executed 2nd June, 1572. On the 10th Oct. Cecil writes to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador in France, that "The Duke of Norfolk is in custody, and so are the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley; but the Lord Steward only keepeth his chamber in the court, and I trust shall shortly do well."

† Of Billingbear, in Berkshire, [by grant from Edward VI,] ancestor of the present Lord Braybrooke. He was one of the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII. and of his successor, and witnessed the will of the former, who left him £100. On the demise of Edward VI. he associated himself with Francis, second Earl of Bedford, and others, to proclaim Mary, and put themselves in arms against Lady Jane Grey. The Queen, however, annulled the grant of Billingbear, which was not restored until the next reign. He was High Steward of Reading and Windsor, for which place he frequently returned members to Parliament. He was employed in the execution of important trusts by Queen Elizabeth; and had a warrant for the contemplated removal of the Queen of Scots from Sheffield to Melbourne Castle. He took charge of the Duke of Norfolk, at Burnham; and Sir Francis Knolls conducted him to the Tower, on the 9th October. The Duke was afterwards under his *surveillance* for some months. Sir Henry died in 1593.—*Letter from Lord Braybrooke*, 1837.

‡ Henry Fitzallan, father to the Duke of Norfolk's first wife. He was soon liberated, but never took any share in public life afterwards.

‖ William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of the Household. He died 17th March, 1569—70.

gate dysplesure. All ys yet quyet here, and I trust wyl be, and yet I wyll not be neclygent. In haste, at York, 12 Octobre, 1569,

Yr. assured frend,
T. Sussex.

Original.—Bowes's MS. Vol. I. No. 2.

The Privy Council to Sir G. Bowes :—

"After our harty commendations. Wee have heard by dyvers meanes of some late trobles, or rumours of trobles, growne in those north partes, whereby the Queene's Majestie's good servants have had some cause to doubt theyr awne dangers, in respect of theyr redinesse to serve hir Majestie; and bycause wee fynde it very nedefull to understand how these late rumours and murmers have had theyr begynning, we, being assured of your fidelitie, and thinking that you cannot be ignorant thereof, require you to advertise us, either by writing, or otherwyse by reporte of some trusty person, what you doo knowe, or have heard, or can by secret conference with others understande to be the causes of suche doubtfull brutes and rumours, and what assemblies of any nombers of late tyme you have heard of worthy of suspition, or what provisions of armour, shott, and munition, or of horses and geldings, hath byn of late tyme made in any parte of that countrye, otherwyse, or in larger sorte, then was limitted by the commissioners of the musters, or then was certified from the said commissioners.

Of all which things wee require you to advertise us as spedely and as secretly as you may. And wee assure you that our meaning is not hereby that you shall receyve any harme, or lack. So fare you well, from Wyndesor, the xxvith of Octob, 1569. Your loving frends,

N. Bacon, C.
F. Bedford.
E. Clynton.
F. Knollys.
R. Sadler.
W. North [ampton]
R. Leycester.
W. Howard.
W. Cecill.
Wa. Mildmaye.

Post Script.—If you had rather come up yourself, and make reporte to us by mouthe, then to advertise us by writing, we wolde you shulde so doo, excepte you fynde it necessary to staye there upon occasion of any newe troubles. *Original.—Bowes's MS. Vol. I. No.* 20.

The reply of Sir George is dated 2nd Nov. at York, who states that "not muche before the Duke of Norfolk's departure from the corte, ther came into thys parts a brute of a maryage betwixt the Scottishe Quene and the said Duke, which beynge muttered, and delyvered prevatelye from hande to hande, dyd after by the assemble and conference of people at fares, then usuall, spred abrode, into all partes, occaysyoninge by common conjectures dowts of trobles to followe. And albeyt the Lord President and Counsell here, openly publyshing to all Justices of Peace called for that purpose th'effect of your L. letters sent to hym, declaring the trew estate of thos matters, dyd take order with the said Justices of Peace,

A paper, endorsed by Cecil, *Notes of uncertain brutes*, 2nd Nov. states, that "The persons that by the uncertain brutes be named to be great doers in these matters, be all evil of religion, as Robert Tempest and John Swinburn, of the Bishoprick of Durham; Thomas Markenfeild, Francis Norton, Thomas Hussey, and one Heighington, of Yorkshire: and amongst them is also named Christopher, son of Sir Christopher Danby. Surely, Sir, the returne to the Corte of the Duke's grace, and the metinge here, at Yorke, of my Lord President and Counsayle, and the said two Earls, did clearly make an end of the rumours in theis parts, and therefore it is heare thought good to ..... nourish that quiet until further in the winter, that nightes were longer and colder, and the wayes worse, and the waters bigger, to stopp their passages if any stirre should be."—*Brit. Mus. Calig. C.* 1, 347.

On the 1st Nov. John Herbert writes, that divers honest gentlemen, as "Sir William Mallorey, Sir William Inglebey, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Richard Malleverer, and Mr. Aldeburg, on a sudden left their own houses."—*State Papers.*

On the same day, John Vaughan writes, that the rumours "have been very great."—*State Papers.*

On the 2nd Nov. Fr. Slingsby states (in reply to the Council's letter) "that the Erles of Northumberland and Westmoreland would be parties therein;" and, as touching the assembly of any numbers, "I have bene at the most part of the meetings of the said Erles, where I did never see and understande any nomber of men or horse of ther owne, or of any other

and by several commissions as well to suppress thos rumors, as also by watches and all other meanes to take and arrest all suspecyous persons and spreders of rumors, whereby muche good insued to many; yet, the feare and expectation of doubtful trowbles remayned, and increased, until yt was certaynly known abrode that the Duke was returned towards the Corte. Moreover, in this meanetyme and general feare, divers new bruts and dowts of hurt to be done to particular persons, and especially to protestants, arose, and were conceyved; wherof, as I suppose, grewe upon the sundry meatyngs together of syche as not best lyked the relygyon now used and set forth; and upon a suspecyon and dowt that thes men dyd go abowt an alteracyon of religyon: and, abowt that tyme, sundry warnings and messages sent by zelyous persons to their frinds, beyng protestants, to warn theym to beware and provyde for ther sayftes, as in myself I have good proof, by divers tales and messages sent to me by sundrye persons of good credyt and calling, signifying planely that a wayt was layd for me for my harme."

Sir George declares farther that he knows of no secret meetings, &c. and states in conclusion that he has "charge

gentlemen in their company, other than ordinary; and as they were accustomed, and accompanied with all sorts of gentlemen, not worthy of suspition, nor in any other place do I know of any assemble to have bene."—*State Papers.*

2nd Nov. York. Sir Harry Gates (one of the Council of the North) writes—that, "with regard to the bruts and rumours, the Lord President sent for him to tell him that the brut was that the Erles of Northumberland and Westmoreland were suspected; and that Sir Will. Ingleby, Fran. Slingsby, Richd. Malleverey, with others, had, for their better safeguard and service of the Queen's Majesty, entered into the Castle of Knaresboro. The Erles came to the Council. They affirmed that they had heard of them (the rumours), but neither knew they the authors, doers, nor causers thereof; and the Erl of Westmoreland did vehemently protest, that if any commotion should chance nigh unto him, he wold be one of the first that wold venture his life to suppress it."—*State Papers.*

The Earls "both agreed they had herd such rumours, but they affirmed they neither knew the auctors, nor the causes thereof, but they would both endeavour themselves to enquere thereof and to se the offenders punished."—*Sir Thomas Gargrave to the Privy Council, 2 Nov.*

of the Quene's Majestie's castle and Lordship of Barnard Castle, as her Majestie's Steward there, wherein ys a great number of people right dewtyfully bent to her Majesty."—*Orig. State Papers.— Copy—Bowes's MS. Vol II. No.* 1.

Letters of inquiry were addressed by the Privy Council to several other gentlemen in the County of York, whose assurances are very similar to those of Sir George Bowes.

Sir G. Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 7th Nov. 1569.

My humble dewtye remembred, may it please your Lordship to be advertysed, that I have certaine advertysement that all reteyners and husehold servants appertening the Erle of Westmorland, with the moste part of all others his tennants, beyng furnished with armour and weapon, of his lordship of Raby, in their warlike apparel, repared to Bransepeth yesterday, and this nyght past, and all the rest of his tennants ar by his lordship's officers commandyt to set forthe upon one hour's warning, so that the said tennants and freholders putteth themselves in full rydenes to do as his further commandment shall come, and I heare, but not so certaynly, that the rest of his servants and tennants every where in the bishoprige doyth prepayre and make like provysyon. The Earl of Northumberland is also there, and the Sheryff of Yorkshire,* as yt is told me, but what ys intendyt God knoweth, but I shall seke to learne the best I possybly maye.

There ys great feare upon theys doings newly grown in these parts, and many gentlemen sekethe towards me, hoping thereby to be safe, so they may put themselves in a redyness to serve the Quene's Majestie, as they shall be commandyt; and great shew of good obedience, both in them and the people of these parts, but I have and do persuade all men to rest at their own houses to they hear from the Quene's Majestie, or your Lordship, and such as be in

* Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, Esq. the *Patriarch* of the Rebellion. He was High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1568—9.

autoryte; with these most are well stayed, saving such as dwell nigh the place of assembly, which sayeth they dare not lie in their own houses; and for myself, I make my abode here, until I have your Lordship's pleasure what ys most convenient for me to do, seeing I have a charge of the Quene's Majestie's Castle of Barnard Castle, wherein I have bestowed my small portion of armor and weapon, and meaneth yf there be any further assembly, to draw thither, but not before I heare from your Lordship. I much doubt that evyl counsel hath more place with the noble corage of these two Earls, than wysdom or dewtye, for I cannot hear that they mean not to come at your Lordship, but shortly the certenty hereof wyll be known; and thus humbly beseeching your Lordship to direct me, in such sort as my doings may be to the setting forth of the Quene's Majestie's service, which according to my bounden dewtye I shall be found always redy, to the best of my wyt and power; and so I pray God preserve your Lordship. Frome my house at South Cowton,* the 7 of Nov. 1569.

Sewre I take this assembly to be more done for fear, then that there ys any evil pretendyt to be done; but assembling of themselves, for that they perhaps dowt they shuld be surpresed of the soden.—*Original, Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX*, 355. *Copy, Bowes's MS. No.* 1, *Vol. II.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 7th Nov.

Good Sir George,—I receyved this nyght your letters of this viith, and am sory to percyve there is some shew of an entent to assemble force, which, as it semethe, you conceyve is rather to defend then offend. And as I hartely thanke you for your advertysments, so I praye you lett me spedely here from you what you further understand in that matter; and thereupon I shal be the better habell

* South Cowton in the North Riding, was held by lease under the crown, 15th Dec. 1556, for 21 years; renewed 2nd March, 15 Elizabeth, for 21 years.—*Roll's Office.*

to advyse you what to do for your awne suerty, and her Majesties servyce; and also to gyve some dyrectyons for the present here, and advertyse us* to receyve further from thens. I am bold to laye upon you to gyve me full knoledge of all matters in those parts, and therupon I reste; and wyll dyrecte my course as I shal be advertysed from you, whom, in these causes, of those parts, I only truste. And untell I understand from you further, I can hardly gyve you further advyse, but to look as you see cause to the suerty of yourself, and your frends; and so I wysh to you as to myself. From York, this viith of November, 1569.

Your assured frend,
T. Sussex.

The pursuyvant is not yet retorned with answer from the Erles.—*Orig. Bowes's MS. No.* 2, *Vol. I. addressed* "*To my very loving frende, Sr George Bowes, Knighte, one of the Q. Mat's. Counsell in the Northe.*"

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 8th Nov.

My bownden dutye premysed: pleaseth your good L. to be advertysed, the Erle of Northumberland ys thys daie, with my ladye hys wyfe, passed bye as yt ys said to Toplyfe,† and meaneth to repayre to your L. He passed verye quyet, with noo greate number, all thoo there were verye greate speche,‡ which sewer, so farre as I can learne, ys without cawse. And the servants and tenants of the Erle of Westmerland are used, as I nowe here, for watche, he kepeth abowte himselfe, and no lyckelye heade of any other entent, or evyll meanynge; neyther ys the number greater then the chefe of a parte of hys tenants in Rabye L[ord-

* The council of the North.

† A small town between Aldborough and Boroughbridge, on the Swale, where the Earl of Northumberland had a house and park.

‡ High words, vain boasting.

ship],* and hys servants there. And now the rewmores begynes agayne to staye, which sewer was verye evyll. I am thys evenynge, or tomorowe mornynge, to passe to my howse at Streytlam,† where I intend to remayne, redye to serve the Quenes Majestie, as I shall be commanded by your L. And so humblye taketh my leave. Frome Cowton, the viiith of November, 1569.—*Copy, Bowes's MS. No.* 2, *Vol II.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 9th Nov.

Sir George,—Yestr daye I receyved letters from th'Erles of North. and Westm. Th'Erle of Northumberland promysethe to come, but he wryteth not when, and is yestr nyght come to Toplyf. Th'Erle of Westm. refusethe to come, for fere of his enymyes, except he showld come with force, which wowld be cause of offence; and therefore I entend to wryte the Quene's comandment to them, for ther repayer to her Majestie presently. Now is the tyme to take pryncypall hede to ther doyngs, and therfor, good Sir George, have good spyall, and send good advertysements, and by unknowen wayes, for fere of intereeptyng; and yf you see gret cause, send many wayes, for within six dayes we shall see the sequele of all these matters. In hast, 9 Novembris,‡ 1569.

Your assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Original, Bowes's MS. No. 3, *Vol. I.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes, 10th Nov.

Sir George,—I have sent my letters to my L. of

* Raby was the principal residence of the Nevills, in the County of Durham.

† The chief seat of the Bowes family, three miles from Barnard Castle.

‡ A letter of this date, to the Privy Council from W. Eure, mentions a rumour, "that the Earl of Westmoreland with his horsemen, and one Claxton of Wynyard, a gentleman, of the County of Durham, did sundrie times ride into one of the said Earl's parks, of Brancepeth, in the night, there training themselves *skirmish wise*, and sometimes mustering."—*State Papers.*

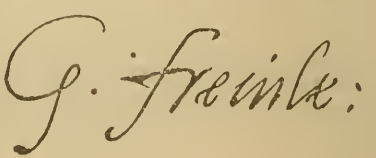
Westmerland for commandment to repayer to the Quenes Majestie, whereof I have yet no answer; and for that my L. of Northumberland did dally with his confetherates after he came to Toplyfe, I sent the lyke to him yestr daye, who, shewing himself muche dyscontented in speche to my man, deteyned him untell eleven in the night, before he cowld be horsed, and come owte of Toplyff, and at his goyng owte of the towne, was willed by Holland* to get him awaye, and before he was owte of the town they ... ...

This morning my L. sent to me, to excuse all, upon a report brought to him that Sir Oswould Wolstrope† showld be at his park syde, with a band of horsemen to take him; wherupon I sent Frevell‡ to him, and at his comyng to Toplyf he understood my L. was gone, but he could not lerne whether.

* William Holland is named in a list of the gentlemen and servants to the Earl of Northumberland who were confined in Durham gaol, on the 1st January, 1569—70. He was transferred to York, and is not mentioned afterwards. He was probably liberated on composition.

† Sir Oswald Wilstrop, an old soldier, commanded a body of horsemen during the rebellion. (Sadler, v. 2, p. 165.) The Earl of Northumberland says (see Appendix) that he left Topcliff "uppon the soddaine of a false larume;" and it is generally stated by historians that he was vacillating and uncertain what course to pursue, when his decision was hastened by the contrivance of his partizans. "The conspirators, perceiving him to be wavering, and unconstant of promises made to them, caused a servant of his, called Beckwith, (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber doore, willing him in hast to arise and shift for himselfe, for that his enemies (whom he termed to be Sir Oswold Vlstrop and Maister Vaughan) were about the parke, and had beset him with great numbers of men: whereupon he arose and conveyed himselfe away to his keepers house."—*Holingshed.*

‡ George Freville, a gentleman of Staffordshire, was an active retainer of the Earl of Sussex, and employed by him on the most confidential missions. He was rewarded with a lease of the capital messuage of Hardwicke (the property of Anthony Hebburn, Esq. who was attainted) for twenty-one years, at a rent of twenty-five pounds per annum, without fine.—Feb. 1573. *Privy Seal Records.* And in 1590, 26th May, he received a grant of the Manor. He was some time Keeper of Raby for the Crown, and Constable of Brancepath, and held a lease of the park of Raby in 1575. He was knighted by King James at York, 17th April, 1603. He died childless, leaving his estate to his youngest nephew Nicholas, and was buried at Sedgefield, 25th Nov. 1619, aged 83.



The sheryf, in lyke sorte, at mydnyght lefte his house. My lady* sayethe there shal be no trobbell, but I wyll no more truste any words, and therefore I praye you have good spyall what is become of them, and advertyse with spede. Some thynk they be gone to Richmondshyre. I have not yet hard from the Corte. Other matter I have not presently.

At York, in haste,
10 Nov. 1569, at mydnyght,
Your assured frend,
T. Sussex.

Original, Bowes's MS. No. 4, *Vol. I.*

Sir G. Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 10*th Nov.*

My bownden dewty premised: pleaseth your good Lordship to be advertised, that this daye, in the afternoon, the Erle of Northumberland, armed in a previe cote, under a Spanishe jerkyn, being open, so that the cote might be seane, and a stele cappe covered with grene velvet, is returned to Bransbeth,† with viii with him, all armed with previe cotes and daggs;‡ and in another company returned to Bransbeth, Francis Norton,§ and divers of his brethrene, and Capitaine Rede,‖ with twenty-nine horse, all armed;

* The Countess of Northumberland.

† Brancepath Castle, belonging to the Earl of Westmoreland, where the insurgents assembled.

‡ Pistols.

§ Eldest son of Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, Esq.

‖ Captain Reed, afterwards Sir William Reed, of Fenham, appears in a very doubtful character here. He was one of the Captains of Berwick; and had a grant from the Queen, twenty-third of October, 3rd Elizabeth, of the forts of Holy and Ferne Islands. *(Original Grants.)* In a letter to the Council, 8th April, 1569, from Berwick, he says, he is a suitor for repairing the fort in Holy Island, "considering the Quenes Majestie hath been at great charge in fortifying of the walls about the rocks, to the height of four yards."—*State Papers.* On the breaking out of the Rebellion, Captain Drury, Marshall of Berwick, writes to Cecil, 13th Nov. "the gen-

and in the third companye returned Markenfield,* with one which is supposed to be the Sheriffe of Yorkshyre, and in ther company thirty horse[men], all armed in corslets, under jerkins. And sure there hath beene verie evell reports made by some of the chiefe of [the] cownsell of the Erle of Northumberland, and great speche is nowe of their evell intents, and marvelous fear aryseth here in these parts; for they passe in troppes, armed and unarmed, so fast up and

tleman Porter and I agreed to send some more strength to the fort in the Holy Island, the Captain being absent, and as sy thence appeareth, in Yorkshire."—*State Papers.* Sir George Bowes finds him in suspicious company on the 10th. Constable, the Spy, whose testimony alone should be received with caution, says, Christopher Norton, who was Reed's soldier, "told me an ill-favoured tale of him," and said, if he "had been so faithful a man of his promise as men judges him to be, he had been, ere now, amongst us." And Cecil, writes to Sir Ra. Sadler, 8th Dec. that he thinks it needful that Captain Reed should be "taken, and committed to saff custody."—*Sadler, v.* 2, *p.* 56. On the 19th Dec. Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, writes to Cecil that he has committed him to ward, and has given the charge of Holy Island to others; and asks "what shall be don to Capt. Rede and Gyfford, whom I have had in ward these fourteen dayes? I desire to know?" Not receiving a reply, and taking a warm interest in favour of Cap. Reed, he writes to the Queen, 13th Jan. 1569—70, and boldly says, "Captain Reed desyers your Majesties favor, only yn hys just cawse and trothe to your Majestie, and thinketh himself hardly delt withall, to be condemned without tryall; and defyse all the world, or any man, than towch or spott hym any way, with any sparke of untrothe too your Majestie, eyther by deede, knowledge, consentyn, or conselement, and desyers only hys purgacyon, whyche yor Majestie *cannot well deny* to hym."

His representations having proved unavailing, he writes again to Cecil on the 3rd April, 1570. "For as much as I perceve that the suspycyon whych the Quenes Majestie hath conseyved yn Cap. Reede dothe contynew, I have sent hym too the Coorte to answer anything that may be objected against him, praying you too deale so for hym as yf he be not justley too be chargyd with any offence, that he may not be *lyngard* thare, but be sent down agayne, for trewley I wold be lothe too myse hym at thys tyme."—*State Papers.*

With such a determined friend as Lord Hunsdon, there seems little doubt that his peace was made in due time; and, in 1579, in consideration of his service, "his lease of Fenham was confirmed." He was knighted by the Earl of Leicester in Holland, and was honoured with a visit from King James, in 1603, and died soon afterwards.—*See Raine's History of North Durham, p.* 176, *for an interesting history of Sir William and his family.*

* Thomas Markenfield, of Markenfield, County of York, Esq. He was one of the principal instigators of the Rebellion. After the discomfiture of the Earls, he was received at Branksome, and shortly after escaped over sea.

downe the contrethe, that no man dare well stirre any where; and it is everie owre loked that they will do some evell enterpryse, and as it is supposed presently, as to morowe, [will] make open stirre; but this is verie uncertaine, and yet everie man that is not something smattered, is so affrayed, that men dare not lye in ther owne howses; for there are few howses of suche gentelmen as hath kept from dealing with them, that they have not vewed. And with much adoye, I hold that the people fleethe not with their cattell, such a generall feare there is; and that they will make open spoile of all suche as wyll not aryse with them, and many fleethe in dreade; and yet for any thinge that in certaintye I can perceave, they gather rather for their owne saifety then to annoye; for they are not, as I well knowe, above three hundred that all they and their partakers can be of the sodayne, and this nomber, or neare there aboute, are there together. And all of their faction stand readye, which exceede not (for I consyder by the musters laytly made) three hundred more, that hathe any armor or weapon, yet they presentlye sweepe up all maner of weapons and armor, that can be gotten for money; for this daye they boght all the bowes and arrowes in Barnard Castell, and, as I heare, at Durham. But trewly so farre as I can learne, the gentelmen and people this waye are bent to serve the Quene's Majestie with great dewtye and obedience, yf they may knowe to whome, or what waye they shall drawe. And sure it ware verie requysyte, in my opynyon, that if thes men make any further assembly, that there were some shew made of the Quenes party, that the people may drawe unto, as for fear of spoile the number of the confederates should be increased. But I rest ready to serve her Majesty, as frome your L. I shall be directed; havinge as good regard to my owne saifetye as I maye, without makinge any assembly at all; and [am] marvelously disapointed of my armour and weapon, a great part whereof is still at Newcastell, which, I feare, I can not now readyly come by. I much desyre to knowe what I shall do yf they

showld further attempt: yf Comberland, (being, as it is credibly informed) promised to followe Leonard Dacres,* (I meane Gilsland) shall assemble to these. But nowe presentlye as it is advertised me, that their enterpryse shall be set furthe before Sunday, and that showld be to make open call of men for alteration of religion, and to spoile such as wyll not followe their dyrections, and prove if this wyll move the multytude to followe them, and yf it will not, they have a shippe ready to passe away; but this is but a report, delyvered upon great uncertainty. Another is, that without doing of evill they will [go] in to Northumberland, and lye at Alnwycke,† or, as some sayeth, at Iland,‡ and this is muche spoken. But in my poore opynyon, it is mete that the moneye to be sent to Barwycke, staye, to yt be seene what way they will take. And thus havinge trowbled your Lordship with a long letter to no great effecte, resting [to] serve the Quenes Majestie as I shall be directed, according to my bownden duty, I humbly take my leave. From my house at Streatlam, at midnight, the xth of November, 1569.—*Orig. Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 349.—*Copy, Bowes's MS. No.* 3, *Vol. II.*

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 12*th Nov.*

My bownden dewtye premised: pleaseth your Lordshipe to be advertysede, that for sewrtye the Erlles of Northumberlande and Westmerland ar together at Branspethe, and with them, or at Tyrsdell, hard by, at Francis Bullmer's§ howse, ar the Sheryve of Yorksher and Mr.

* Uncle to George, the last Lord Dacre, who died 17th May, 1569. He was a zealous partizan, and was attainted.—*See Appendix.*

† The splendid baronial castle of the Earls of Northumberland.

‡ Holy Island.

§ Francis Bulmer, of the family of Bulmer of Wilton, in Cleveland, lived at Tursdale, in the parish of Kelloe. He married Katherine, one of the daughters of Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, Esq. yet his name does not occur as an abettor or participator in the "rising" of the Earls. His eldest son and heir, Anthony, was suspected, and was imprisoned in Durham jail, where he remained on the 1st January, 1569-70, and, though not attainted, yet he received a pardon in March, 1574.—*Privy Seal Records.*

Markenfeld, whose companye ridethe armed with corsletts and spears, and hathe ryden to and fro betwixt [Brance-path] and William Norton's* hows twyse, so that they occupye the streets in [a] maner daye and nyght, butt delleth with no man. There [are] sundry tropes of twenty, or thereabouts, latly come forth of Yorkshyer, and direct their course to Branspethe, but yt ys not as yett knowne what theys are; but I truste, by tomorowe at nyght, to understand and knowe the names of all the jentylmen that kepethe the Erlles' or anye of the others' companye. And yett ther ys verye strayt watche and ward; and this daye ys appointyd to be at Branspeth all that anye of them in [any] manner can make, in ther armor; but what actyon they intend I know not, but ytt shall nott sooner be uttered to any nomber, but I truste to be advertysed. But sewer yt is loked verye generally that to-morowe, or this daye, they will sett forthe what soever they pretend to doye, and shewe ther force, which is nott, when yt is wholly gathered, by that I can lerne, above six hundred men, and thereaboutes. They will be together this daye, or nyght, but dowting what myght happen to my selfe, whom theye greatlye menace, I have put my selfe and my howsehold only, into Barnard-castel Castel, and hath spoken with

His son, Sir Bertram, grandson of Francis, (knighted by King James April 13, 1603) was a gallant, gay, and expensive cavalier, who, after basking in the beams of the English court, until his butterfly wings had lost a large portion of their gold dust, shrunk into the crysalis state, in a coat of mail and steel murion.

He raised a regiment of foot, which he led to the wars in the Low Countries, where, on one occasion, his men deserted him; and the gallant knight was left in a wet ditch, where he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and part of his lands were sold to pay his ransom. He returned to England, and died in Elvet, where he was buried at St. Oswald's, 6th May, 1638.

His manor-house at Tursdale (now a moated farm-house) still retains vestiges of ancient gentility; and a paved coach road, from the neighbouring village of Cornforth, bears to this day the name of "Barty's-path."

His descendants were reduced to great poverty; and one of them, Bertram Bulmer, in 1726, kept the cock pit and bowling green in Gray's Inn Lane, and had in his possession a splendidly illuminated family pedigree.

* Another of the sons of Richard Norton, Esq. He is stated to have lived at Hartforth, in the North Riding.

manye of the better sortt, as well of the bishopbrigg, as of Richmondshire, all which promisethe to serve the Quene's Majestie obedyentlye and dewtyfully, and yett doith what they can to stay these rumours, which the others, beforenamed, wylfully styreth. And sewre, in my opynyon, the moste part, and in [a] manner all, both of the gentelmen and commoners [in] Rychmondshyre, are both dewtyfull and redye to serve, as thaye shall be commanded by you, so that th'Erll of Northumberland shall be able to doye small there. And, finalye, I yett reste of that opynyon, that the Erlles, with ther confederaytes, ar not determyned of any open action, butt makith thes assemblies eyther for ther owne garde, beynge in greate feare to be apprehendid, eyther meaneth to make a shewe, and so separate themselves; wherunto I feare they shal be muche stirred by thes wicked counsellors, that hath brought them to this staye. Butt what shal be further sett forthe, your Lo. shall be assertained off with all deligens; and so resteth redye to serve her Majestye, as by your Lo. I shal be directed, or commanded; and so taketh my leve: from the Queen's Majesty's castell of Barnard Castell, the twelfth of November, 1569.

Your Lordship's wholly at commandment.

Copy, Bowes MS. No. 4, *Vol. II. Orig. Calig. B. IX.* 346.

[*The following letter, from the Earl of Sussex to the Queen, was not discovered in time to be printed in its proper chronological place, but it is too important and interesting to be now omitted*] :—

It may please your moste excellent Majestie: understanding that my Lord of Northumberland and my Lady were returned to Topplif, I sent, by advise of the counsell here, my secretary, to require his Lordship to be here the next morninge, with order that if he wolde not then come, nor appointe no certen tyme of his shorte cominge, he

sholde deliver my letters conteyning your Majestie's commandment for his repaire to your Majestie; and sent also by a pursivant, at the same time, like letters to my Lord of Westmerlande; the copies of both whiche your Majestie shall herewith receive.

My Lord of Northumberland said directly he could not come before Saterday, which shall be the xiith day, if he coulde then come; wher apon my secretary delivered his letters, and when his Lo. had redde them, and sene the effecte was for his repaire to your Majestie, and shewed some discontentment, and said he was not well used; but in the ende he saide he wolde prepare to goo to your Majestie, and so lycenced him to departe abowte vii in the nighte, who taried in the towne for poste horses until xii, and beinge goinge then to his horse, a servant of my Lord's, called Hollande, ridinge poste, mette him, and asked twise, "Who is there?" And, after his several answers, "You knowe me well enough, Mr. Holland;" "Is it you?" said Holland, "get you hence." "Why," said my secretary, "sholde I get me hence; what meane ye by that?" "Well," said he, "get you hence quickly, for ye shall ells finde it [out] shortly;" and therwith Hollande called for the baylif, and my secretary departed, and brought with him a servante of my ladie's, whom my lady sente to speake with me; and before he was fully owte of the towne, he harde all the bells ringe; and askinge of him that came with him what it mente, he sighed, and answered he was afrayed it was to raise the countrey.

This daye, abowte x of the cloke in the forenone, the Earle sente a man to me, who declared that the Earle had understandinge, after he was in his bed, that Sir Oswolde Wollstrope sholde be at his parke pale, with a band of horsemen to take him, and for that he was his enemye and feared to come in his handes, he went to his house with his mene, and the townsmen went to kepe the bridge, and some rang the bells without his knowledge: but being assured the reporte was untrewe, he was retorned to his howse, and all was quiet.

My ladie's servante also declared unto me, that my Lord had received perfate knowledge from those parts, that your Majestie had commanded me to take him and sende him upp *moffeled* (the like whereof my Lo. also tolde my secretary) and that was the cause why her Lorde was fearefull to come to me; for though he were a trewe man, yet he knewe not how he sholde be used by his enemies.

Upon the conference with the counsell here of these two messages, I gave answer by ther advise, and in ther presens, that I was sory my Lo. was so ill councelled, and did geve so good eare to it; for, trewly, nether I nor any of the counsell here ever received any such comandment, nor had ever had any such thought; and for that diverse bruts would growe of his Lo. delayes in coming hether, and going to your Majestie, and of the ringing of the bells, I wished his Lo. wolde make expedicon to your Majestie, whereby all bruts sholde be stopped, and gave full and plaine advise for his dutifull doings in all respects. And, doubting his own servante wold not utter all things so plainly as it was delivered, I toke occasion, by like advise, to send one of my owne to doo the like message to my Lo. and to my Lady, and to bring certen answer, when he wolde sett forwards to your Majestie, thinking, by this occasion, to have some good intelligence of his entente, after the ringing; and, when my servante came thither, my Lo. was gone, as my Lady said, for feare, so as my servant could not speake with him. And the same night old Norton, the sherif, hath also left his howse; and whether they be gone I have yet no intelligence. My Lady excuseth her husband's feare upon intelligence from London, or the Cort, or, as I take it, from both, and affirmeth she will shewe writinge of good credite for that matter; and she assureth, apon her life, her Lord will never seke to stirre the people, or to shewe any rebellion; and in the ende she sente me worde that he wolde goo to your Majestie, but he would first write to your Majestie.

What answere my Lo. of Westmerland will make I knowe not; but, suerly seeinge the daily delayes and

excuses, I doubte moch they be led by ill counsell, and, therefore, I dare not put your Majestie in hope that they meane to come; and if they come not, by all likelihood they will, in the ende, ether stirre open rebellion if they may (which, I truste, they shall not be able to doo in Yorkshire) or retire themselves to some strengthes, or seke to flee: and, therefore, the soner your pleasure be knowen what shal be don in every of these, seeing the matter is now openly discovered, the spedier execucon it shall have, and, I truste, a shorte ende. And so I pray to God long to preserve your Majestie to your owne harte's contentacon. —Yorke, 10th November.—*State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes, 12th Nov.

Sr George,—I receyved this daye one letter from you, dated the xth, at midnight, and one other letter, dated this daye, at three in the mornyng; and perceyving, as well thereby as by divers other advertisements, that th' Erles, and all that depend upon them, ride openly armed and weaponed, and assemble daily forces unlawfully, whereof th' end muste be open rebellion if they be hable: We have resolved to levy force presently, and to sett forwards so sone as it shall be levyed; and to that ende you shall receyve comyssion by the berer to levye what force you maye in the Byshoprick, Richmondshire, and Allertonshire, and to repaire therewith to such place as shall be best for the Queen's service, and most for your suertie.

I heartely praye you, fynd the meanes to cause the letters herewith sent, to be conveyed to Sr John Foster and Mr. Gower;* and if you can not safely convey Mr.

* Thomas Gower, Esq. was serving at Newcastle, and for a time "had the principal rule" and assisted in fortifying that city. His own allowance was four shillings a day; and he was allowed two, and afterwards four light horsemen, and four footmen, to the xxixth of December. He appears to have been principally employed in forwarding the correspondence of the Queen's officers.—*Sadler, v.* ii. *p.* 178.

Gower's letter, then send it to Sir John Foster to convey it. In haste, this XIIth of November, 1569.

Yr. assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Orig.—Bowes MS. Vol. I. No. 5.—*Written by a Secretary, signed only by Lord Sussex.— Copy, by Lord Sussex.—Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 339.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes, 13th Nov.

Sir Gorge Bowes,—I have receyved, even nowe, the Quene's majestie's owne letters* to th' Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, for ther repayr to her without delaye, which I have, by Wrothe,† despeched thether; and for that it may be to late for you to send unto me after knowlege shall be given to you, if hereupon th' Erles wyll attempte any sudden matter hitherward, I praye you, therfore, besyds suche as you appoynt to bryng intellygence to you, appoynte also some other trustye persons, that may repayer the next‡ way hither, to gyve warnying so sone as they shall understand of theyr settyng forwards towards these parts with force. I here, ther be sixty of ther horsemen appoynted to lodge at Darnton, and to pay one penny a meale, and one penny day and night for haye.

* The Queen states in her letter to the Earl of Sussex, of the 10th of Nov. in reply to his letters of the 7th, enclosing copies of those he had sent to the Earls (*Hayne's State Papers, p.* 552):—"The manner whereof we do not allow: and yet considering the former comandment was to them for their coming to you, for certen our affaires there, without expressing the cause of their sending for, to be to come to us; we are the rather moved not to be without some hope of a better consideration in them, when they shall perceave that your sending for them is upon our comandement to come to us." She then directs that if they send any "dilatory answer," to his last letters, that then he will send those which she encloses, signed with her own hand, commanding them, upon the duty of their allegeance, forthwith to make their repair to Court.

† Richard Wrothe, secretary to the Earl of Sussex.

‡ Nearest.

It is advertysed, they wer yesterdaye to have an open masse this daye at Duresme. I praye you understand the trewth.

Suerly you deserve grete thanks for your dylygence in advertysements, which the Quene shall well understand; and I praye you to contynue them, for I wyll grownd moste upon that [which] comethe from you.

I have receyved, this night, a warrant for levying .... of men, and my comyssion comethe with the next. At Yorke, 13th November, 1569.

Yr assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Original, Bowes MS. Vol. I. No. 6.

The Council at York write to the Queen on the 13th that they have received letters from Sir George Bowes, relating to the gathering before-mentioned; and that they have also heard, the insurgents intend to have an open masse at Durham. They state that they "have ordered two thousand five hundred fotemen to be at Darneton on the 21st; and that they have given commission to Sir George Bowes and others, in the Bishoprick and Richmond to levy all her subjects; and have authorised Sir Henry Percy, Sir John Forster,* and William Dreury, to

* Sir John Forster, Knight, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Forster, Knight, Marshall of Berwick, by Dorothy, daughter of Robert Lord Ogle. His name occurs conspicuously in the history of border warfare; and he served the crown as deputy and chief warden for nearly forty years, and appears to have conducted himself with distinguished bravery on several occasions. According to ballad tradition,

Sir John was gentil, meik, and douse;
But he was hail and het as fyre.

On 12th July, 1571, he had a lease of the demesne lands of Lucker, of the water mill on Tyne, and 5 cottages in Lewsbury, in Co. Northumber. being parcel of the possessions of Thomas late Earl of Northumberland, attainted of treason for 21 years—if the said Earl live as long—at a rent of £15 10s. 1d., and a fine of £25.—[*Orig. Grants.*] *Privy Seal Records.*

In May, 1574, he appears to have a grant of steward, constable, and porter, of the castle and lordship of Bamborough, and the fishery of the water of Tweed. He received about the same time, a grant "in consideration of

levy force sufficient in Northumberland, for the keeping of that country quiet."—*State Papers.*

service in the late rebellion" and also for £500, of the Grange of Alnwick, and other parcels of land in Northumberland, of the value of £39 16s. 8d. p. ann.

Lord Hunsdon writes from Berwick, to Lord Burgley:—I knowe nott what awtoryte ys comyttyd too Sir Jhon Forster, of th' Erle of Northumberland's lands and howsys, nor what therof he hathe purchasyd; and, therfor, when any complaynts come too me, I can say nothinge. But he taks upon hym too have the rule of all, and so comands what he lyst; and thys I assure your Lo. that ytt ys grete pytty too see how Alnwyke Castell and Warkworth are spoyled by hym and hys. And yf sum order be nott taken for the stay therof, whensoever hyr Majestie shall have occasyon too send any lieutenant ynto thys Cuntry, she shal be att no smale charges to repayre the same. And for the Abbey that stands yn Hull Parke, he hathe neythar lefte lede, glase, ierne, nor so muche as the pypes of lede that convayd the water to the howse; but he hathe broughte ytt too hys owne howse, and, as I am credabley informed, he meanes utterly too deface bothe the uthar howsys, Warkworth and Alnwyk, which wer grete pytty. What frendshypp he hathe sowght, or what he hathe dune theryn, I know nott, butt, I assure your Lo. that he dothe hope too get the keepyng of Tynmouthe for Sr Frances Russell, and too that end sent him up; and I knowe of sum promessys paste alreddy for sum offycys, therof ytt was *a happy rebellyon too hym*: for, besyds that he ys the better by £500 a yere, yt was worthe yn exchets 3 or £400 too hym, that I know of. I protest byfore God that I doo no way envy hys gretness, for ytt towchythe mee no way, nor I have no cawse of dysplesure towards him; but that I see that no man, howsoever he ys opprest dare complayne, and whatsoever the matter be, yt ys *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and so ytt must be.—*Endorsed by Lord Burleigh, Ap.* 1572. *State Papers.*

Shortly afterwards (on the refusal of Lord Hunsdon) he was directed to take the Earl of Northumberland to execution at York.

In Sep. 1595, he received the Queen's commands to deliver his office of Warden of the Middle Marches to the Lord Eure.—*Cotton MS. Titus C. X.* And in 1601, 27th April, after a long and stirring life, he makes his will, and seems to wish at last for tranquillity. He was then of Alnwick Abbey. "Considering that I am a stranger uppon earth, and knowe not howe soone it will please my Lord the God, to call me out of this perplexed sinful state of lyffe, unto the Mount Sion, to the cittie of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem, to the assemblie and congregation of the first-borne which are written in heaven, and to the presents of the mightye God, where there is safiety of joyes for evermore." [His lands were principally conveyed before.] He names his nephew, Edward the Earle of Bedforth, and appoints Dame Isabel, his wife, and Nicholas, his bastard son, executors. In the account of the money disbursed at his funeral are the following sums:—The Harralde, £55 13s. 8d.; The Preacher, Mr. Murton, £5; The Cookes, 50s.; My Lord of Bedford, his blacks, £40; To the Poore, £8 19s. 6d.; Spice at Newcastle and bankettinge stuff, £18 8s. 6d.; Bestowed in blacks on Mr. Nic. Foster, and Mr. Tho. Foster, his Wife and Children, £45.

The Queen's "own" letters were to command the Earls, "upon the duety of your allegeance, furthwith to make your speedy repayre hither unto us, without any delaye or excuse, whatsoever the same be. And this we trust yow will not forbeare upon any synister and unloyall perswasions, or any other matter, to induce yow to any mistrust without just cause or grownd: for so yow shulde vary from the dutyfulnes, which, as you have many tymes pryvatly, with great assurance, professed to us; so have we ever made good accompt of the same, and shall do the lyke, untyll yow shall give cause of the contrary." (10*th Nov. Haynes, p.* 552.) And Sussex writes to them, when he encloses the Queen's letters, "If you come upon her Majestie's command, all the honest frends you have, will stand fyrmly with you, in all that may be for the just defence of your trewth; and therin feare no enemies: and if you have slipped, your frends will, by all the dutiful meanes they may, deale honestly as suters for you to her Majesty, who never shewed herself extreme to any, and hath, indeed, borne alwais good affection to you, whereof you may conceive great hope; and if, contrary to your allegiance, you refuse to come, you do not onlye thereby make all your faithfullest frends your ennemies, in respecte of their duties to the Quene's Majesty, but also you seke therby the utter overthrow of yourself, and subversion of your house.

"If you forsake this my often, and now my last, counsell, whatsoever false parasits shall flatter and tattell in your eares, loke not to escape that plague in this worlde, that God hath appointed to disobedience, and in the world to come the punishment that he hath promised to be dew for it. And so, my Lord, I take my leave, and pray to God he may put into your hart the spirit of dew obedience."—York, 13th Nov. x at night.—*State Papers.*

They were now, however, so far advanced in treason, that

"Returning were as tedious as go o'er,"

And they refused to obey the Queen's commands.

The Earl of Sussex to the Queen. 15*th Nov.* 1569.

"These simple Earles (thus, by false delusions, drawen on) be now with ther wicked Counsellors together at Bransby, where, under color of ther owne defence, they assemble such force as they can get; and, on the other side, I have prepared to assemble force to suppresse ther force, as mete is for your suertie; least otherwise those wicked Counsellors, seeing no resistance, mighte cary them to further mischief: and with that force I meane to be, God willing, within xvi miles of Bransby, on the xxist of this present. [He then entreats the Queen to send her orders before the 21st.] And what you shall command, that I will obey to the uttermost; and, if it come to the feighte, ether God shall give you the victory, or, if any men will stand with me, you shall finde my carcas on the grownde, what so ever the rest of my company doo; for, besides my dutie to your Majestie, I will, for my conscience sake, spend all my lives, if I had a thousande, against all the worlde that shall drawe sworde against our religion.

"I have made no man livinge here prevy of that I now write unto your Majestie, but onely the writer, upon his othe, for that my hande is ill to rede; but I finde all the wisest protestants affected that you sholde offer mercie before you trye the sworde.

"God putt into your harte to doo that [which] may be moste for your honor and suerty, and the quiet of your realme."—*State Papers.*

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 15*th Nov.*

My bounden dewtye premysed: pleaseth yt your good Lordshippe, I have yeasterdaye receyved fromc your L. by my servant, Thomas Dande, three commyssyons dyrected to me, and others, of the contrees of Rychmondshyre, Allertonshyre, and the countye of Durham; with also your L. letter, and a letter to Thomas Gower, and a commyssion

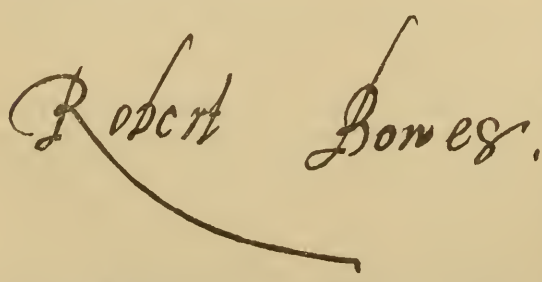
to Sir Henrye Pearcye* and others, which latter letter and commyssion I have sent awaye, as I truste in greate savety, to be delyvered accordinge to the derection. And for the better executyon of the other commyssyons, I have dyspatched my letters, together with the said, or copyes of the same, to everye commysyoner in Allertonshire and Rychmondshyre; requesting them, that immedyatelye apon syghte thereof, they shall repayre to me, and in their waye execute suche parte of the commyssyon as was to be doyne presentlye, soo as I looke for them, or the more part of them, thys mornynge. And hayth, upon great respect, required them to come to Barnard Castell, somethinge myslykinge the inhabytants of the Towne of Rychmond, being the onlye people to be dowted of in these parts; for which purpose I have thought yt more to the Quene's and savetye of the people, to make oure assemble elsewhere; and, beynge assemblyd, we maye resorte thether, or elsewhere, as shall stand with your Lordship's pleasure. But in respecte of this Castell, I thought yt good to begin th' assemblye here, where ys alredye comed unto me, with greate haste, and well appoynted, to serve as light horsemen, the whole gentlemen dwellinge upon the ryver of Teyse of both syds, whose names I thoughte good to advertyse your Lordship of.† And as I judge, they brought with them ny abowt a hundred lighte horsemen, well mounted, and armed with playte coyts and speares, and I have of my owne verye nye an hundred light horsemen. And there ys

* Younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and his successor in his honours. He stood firm to the Queen, and took an active part against his brother. He held the appointment of Captain of Tynemouth Castle, from 8 Dec. 3 Eliz. (See Appendix.)

† "The names of suche Gentyllmen off Rychmondshyre come to Barnard Castell for servyce of the Quene's Majestie:—Christopher Wandysforthe, Christ. Rookbye, Wyllyam Wyclyff, Antony Kateryck, Marmaduke Vyncent, John Wytham, Nycoles Gyrlyngton, and Henrey Francke, Esquires. George Pudsaye, whoes brother was before the commandment gone into Craven, but wyll be hear thys nyght; and in the mene, hys brother wyll serve with his men. Nynyan Gyrlyngton, Francys Gyrlyngton, Roger Menell, Gentyllmen.

also assembled hether of the countrethes next adjoynyng, two hundred able men, armed and weaponed with playte coyt, jack, bowes and arrows, and bylles, and twenty corslets of my owne, and thirtie harquebusses; the effect of which nomber ys a choyse of my owne tenants and others under my rewle, of the Quene's Majestie's tennants of Barnard Castell Lordship. And most dewtyfullye and obedyentlye the people nye these parts assemblythe styll, whereof the best lyke, in person and furnyture I staye, and the reste with thanks, and good words, I returne home: thus muche for Rychmondshyre. And thys parte of the byshopbrige is redye, and I howrlye looke for the commyssyoners, that we maye procede to the execution of oure commyssyons, in everye behalfe. And I have also sent the commyssyon for the Countye Palentyne of Durham to the commyssyoners, with my letter, appoyntinge fytt places for the assembles of theys, by north the ryver of Weare, to come together, without perill of anye attempte to be agaynste them, or suche lyke inconvenyence; sodenlye to growe by unapte places of assemble, trustinge that the same shall take good effecte. And havinge here with me, my brother, Roberte Bowes,* whoo, beinge the Sheryffe of thys

The names of such Gentylmen off the Byshopbryge come to Barnard Castell to serve the Q. Ma.:—John Conyers, Robert Bowes, Sheryve off the Byshopbryge, Raphe Taylboys, Thomas Medleton, Esquires, Robert Bowes, Under-Sheryve, Robert Taylboys, Christopher Hall, Baylyve off Long Newton."—*From a list written by Sir George Bowes, endorsed "The names of the Gentyllmen certefyed to be at Barnard Castell the* xv *off November."—Bowes MS. Vol. XII. No.* 1.



*Hewas the youngest son of Richard Bowes, Esq. and only surviving brother of Sir George. His first wife was Anne, youngest daughter of Sir George Bowes, of Dalden, by whom he had issue. His second wife was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Rich. Musgrave, of Eden Hall, Co. Cumb. Anne, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Wharton, on whose monument, at Easby, it is recorded, that she

Countye of Durham, laytlye returned into theys parts, and redye with hys whole power and delygence to serve the Quene's Majestie; I have, therefore, for my better helpe in so manye trobles, imployed him in thys present servyce, and also thought good to sygnyfye unto your L. hys returne and redynes, that here apon your L. may, from hencefurth, dyrecte and bestowe hym in all servyces, as beste lyketh your good L. The other parts of the byshopbrige, towards Stockton and to Durham, I have onlye sent

was "wife to worthie Mr. Robert Bowes, of Aske, Esq. being treasurer of Berwick, and amdassador for Scotland, the most part of one-and-twenty years;" that "she lived comfortably his wife one-and-thirty yeares and a halfe;" and "remained his widow, at Aske, five-and-twenty yeares."

He was early inured to border warfare, under his father. He was sheriff of the County of Durham in 1569, and materially assisted his brother in the defence of Barnard Castle; and commanded a large body of horsemen, on the West Borders immediately afterwards. He does not appear to have received any reward from the Queen, beyond a contingent lease of Nunstainton for twenty-one years.

In a petition to the Queen, [1582] he states, that "all his lands and possessions are not only chargeable, by his office as Tresorer of Berwick, with his accounts to her Majesty; but also so intangled with his own debts dayley encreasing by these impediments, hyndering the sale of his lands." He, therefore, prays the Queen to accept the fee simple both of the manor of great Broughton, in Co. York (£50 p. ann.), and also of his house at Berwick (£50), which cost £2300 in buildiug; and, for his "timely relief," to grant him an exchange, and give him the fee simple of so much land of her Majestie's own possessions. He further adds, that he has demanded no allowance for his first journey to Scotland, nor for (procuring) intelligence during his service in that realme. As Treasurer of Berwick, he was conveniently placed for diplomatic employment; and he was frequently sent on difficult and intricate missions to James I.; and many of his letters, and some of his official letter-books, are still at Streatlam. In 1582, he had grown wearyof his office, and writes to Walsingham, 14th Dec. :—I humbley beseeche you, for God's sake, to helpe to deliver me from this prison and torments that oppress me, cheeflie, in that my service shall nothinge profyte my Soveraigne, contente my frends, nor give credyte to my selfe. He writes to his nephew, Sir William Bowes:—18 Jan. 1596, from Edinburgh. "I shall ether purchase my libertye, or else at least lycence to come into and remayne at my house for a...tyme, to dispose of and put in order my broken estate and causes, before the end of my dayes, which, in the present infirmetyes and weakness oppressing me and my worne body, can not long be deferred. My desyre is great to see you and my good lady, your wife, according to my duty." He died the next year, at Berwick, on the 15th; and the Register records that, on the 16th November, "The Worshipful Mr. Robert Bowes, Thesaurer and Embassador," was buried.

for the justyces, to make their repayre to me with spede, meanynge by them to doye as shall be thoughte moste convenyent; but wyll not there muche styrre the people, lest when they shulde be together, there assemble for favor to some persons myghte rather turne to harme then good. I have also in the afternone yeasterday receyved the twoo commyssyons, together with your L. letter, by which commyssyons your L. hathe sygnyfyed what number of footmen yowe will have in Rychmond and Allertonshyre; which, indede, was not appoynted before. For the affayres heare: most of th' Erle of Westmerland's tennants, and some fewe of hys reteyners, be returned to there howses, and theyr numbers muche abayted, as by outwarde appearance; yet dothe theyr dalye, people armed and well mownted, come northwards over Teyse, as of Sundaye laste, in the afternone, came over at Crofte and Newsam (where I have contynuall watche) within eight persons of an hundreth, well horsed, and lyke to have privye coyts, but wer nott warrelyke weaponed, excepte some dagges.

There came yesterdaye, in cloaks, lyke the Sheryff's leveraye, twenty-two, northwards, also verye well horsed, but had noo weapon, but as before; and sewer the numbers,

The following epitaph, evidently written at the time, is preserved amongst the *Bowes MSS. Vol. XVII. No.* 23.

So longe, alas! so longe the noble Bowes lay bent,
In service of his peere—lesse Prince and Countries peace,
That now (O woefull now!) 'tis broke: layment, layment,
O England! and bewayle that dolorous decease!
Th' unmatched Bowes, whylome thy cheifest strength, are broke,
Which often tymes have made thy conqueringe troupes returne
Victorious of thy proudest foes, and lay the yoke
On their stout necks which durst against thy Princes spurne.
Happie, thrice happie England, was thou then esteem'd,
When those brave Bowes did in thy blessed realme abounde;
Butt as unhappie now thou may be justly deem'd,
For fiewe, alas, suche Bowes can in thy selfe be founde.
O spitefull Deathe, which drewe so deepe the Bowes so weake,
Envyinge England's blysse that jewell to enjoye,
But, maugre all thy spite, the Bowes which thou didst breake,
Once reunited, shall possesse heaven's endlesse joye.

E. H.

where they lye, by anye advertysemente I can gett, dothe rather demynyshe then increase, soo that I gather, they ryde of the nyghte southwards, and cometh agayne of the daye northwards, to make shewes, for what intent I knowe not; but yt ys thought there cometh ever some small numbers of unknowen faces and horses. And sewer, I dare avoche, that after the departure of theys forsaid tennants to th' Erle of Westmerland, there remayned not above five hundrethe men.

Th' Erles kepe together, and Rychard Norton; all the reste hathe els where bestowed themselfes, and kepeth close. And sewer, of Sundaye laste there sprange a generall reporte, that they shulde that nyght meet together, and make some attempte agaynste me or my things; and I was at many hands certyfyed thys, but in the ende it turned to nothinge And nowe the beste intellegence I have, advertyseth that Markenfeilde, Reed, Tempeste,* and Swynburne† are fledd; and my Ladye‡ *braste* owte agaynste

* Robert Tempest, and his eldest son Michael, both engaged in the rebellion. They embarked from Aberdeen 23rd August, 1570, and were at Lovaine in 1571; and afterwards in Spain. Robert was at Rome in 1586. They both died in exile.

On the 2nd July, 1573, on a petition from the wife of "one Tempest, atteynted of high treason," it is declared, "that it shall be lawfull for her friends to relieve her."—*Privy Council Books.*

In May, 1577, Dorothy (Dymoke) wife of Michael Tempest, received a warrant for an annuity of £20 per annum during the Queen's pleasure.—*Privy Seal Records.* The estate of Holmside was granted to Sir Henry Gates.—*Surtees, Vol. III. p.* 326. From a younger brother of Michael, descend the family of Tempest, of Old Durham, represented by the Marchioness of Londonderry.

† John Swinburn, of Chopwell, was a principal leader in the rebellion, and was attainted. He escaped to Flanders; and was at Namur, in 1577, a pensioner of the King of Spain. He died in exile. In May, 1573, a lease of the manor of Chopwell was granted to John Vaux for twenty-one years. In Dec. 1578, the Queen grants to Sir Robert Constable the manor of Chopwell, "in fee farm," at the yearly rent of £21. In Nov. 1608, it was granted to Sir Wm. Constable, Kt. and his heirs, paying the ancient rent of £21, "which Sir Robert Constable, late Lieutenant of the Ordnance, did pay." Sir William sold the estate shortly afterwards. It became the property of Ambrose Dudley, son of a Customer of Newcastle, whose grand-daughter carried it to John Clavering, of Axwell, whose heiress married Lord Chancellor Cowper. His son alienated the same in parcels, reserving the mines. —*Surtees, Vol. II. p.* 277, *and Privy Seal Records.*

‡ The Countess of Westmoreland.

them with great curses, as well for their unhappye counselling as nowe, there cowerd flyghte. But all the evyll counsellors be not yett gone, for [in] trewth, Mr. Christopher Nevill hath doyne more harme to that noble younge Erle, hys nephewe, than can be thoughte, and doeth yet remayne aboute hym. I wyshe he were further off.

For any rate, at a pennye the meal, or a pennye leveraye, Darneton, I have sent to knowe; but there was, nor ys noo suche, neither any lyenge there, save th' Erle of Northumberland's fawkener, with hys hawks. And for the watche at Durham, I have sent to knowe the truth, but [it] ys not certyfyed; and, for suche causes of service as I suppose maye be doyne, I have sent unto your Lordship this bearer, my kynsman Robert Bowes,* Under-Sheryff of the Byshoprige, unto whome I humblye praye your Lordship [to] gyve credytt. And, so restinge, redye to serve the Quene's Majestie, as I shall receyve dyrections from youre Lordship, I take my leave.

From Barnarde Castell, the xvth of November, 1569.

P.S.—I have taken order, that yf by anye intellygence some [of] my friends can learn any sudden attempte [is made] thys waye, that your Lordship shall be certyfyed with suche spede, as yt shall not tarye for comynge to me.

Orig. Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX. 342. *Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. No.* 5.

* This Robert Bowes is not identified in the family pedigree. He was Under-Sheriff in 1569; and was, in all probability, the "little Robert Bowes" who assisted in the watch and ward of Barnard Castle, and had four men under his charge at the "Hall head." Sir George calls him cousin, and sometimes kinsman, but these terms at that period, although they acknowledge a relationship, are vague and indefinite. Christopher Morland, of Pittington, gentleman, by his will 27th May, 14th Eliz. names his son-in-law Robert Bowes, and Margaret his wife; and Henry Anderson, of Newcastle, married Isabel, the other daughter of Morland. When Mr. Thomas Sutton, Master of the Ordnance in the North, wishes to have the freedom of Newcastle conferred upon him, Robert Bowes, the Ambassador, writes to his brother Sir George, from Stirling, 22nd July, 1578, "to deal so effectually" with Mr. Hen. Anderson, by Robert Bowes, and by all other good means as to ensure success.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XVI. p.* 7. This Robert Bowes was frequently employed by Sir George on special missions, and he is named by him as having arrived at Berwick on the 31st May, 1579; and by a fragment

The credence of Robert Bowes, of Little Chilton, Nov. 15th, 1569.

"To informe, that by scarcytie of vyctualles in Brancepath, the most part of the Erles companys of horsemen are dryven and use to stray up and down the country, and many in small troupes to crosse and passe contynually the ryver of Tease; bothe releyving themselves, and also greatly troubling and fearing the people. That ther numbers devyding oftentymes themselves, and wandring about, may easily, and without greatt danger of losse or slaughter, be cutt of; and stayed to answer, as shall be thought expedyent, &c."

Sir George expresses himself perfectly ready to undertake this service, which he considers of the utmost importance to cripple the means of the Earls, and to restore the peace and tranquillity of the country. He, therefore, wishes to receive the sanction and directions of the Earl of Sussex and the council. [*Original, Calig. IX*, 343.] This bold suggestion, which, if it had been judiciously executed, would, in all probability, have crushed the rebellion in its bud, the council did not think prudent to entertain.

The Council of the North write to the Queen, on the same day:—"The Earles doo not intende to obey to your comandement, for ther repare to your presence; and that they have beene at Duresme with ther force in armor, to perswade the people to take ther partes, and some of ther company have throwen downe the comunion table, and torne the holy bible in pieces, so as it appereth directly they intende to make religion ther grownd." The Earl of Sussex, also, writes to the Queen:—"My secretary is returned from them" (the Earls) "by whom I understand

of a will, dated at Berwick in 1580, he leaves to his nephew, Ralph Bowes, his gold chain. He names the poor people of Pittington; and he leaves to Mr. Treasurer, of Berwick, (Robert Bowes, Esq.) his best horse; and appoints Henry Anderson, of Newcastle, Alderman, his sole executor, who administered to his effects, 20th May, 1580.

they were yesterday at Duresm in armor, and have perswaded the peopel to take ther parts." He encloses a copy of Westmoreland's letter to him; and to Cecil, he sends the letter addressed by the Earl of Northumberland to the Queen. (*See Appendix.*)

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, Nov. 15th, 1569.

The doynges off th Erles of Westmerland and Northumberland. Yesterdaye at iiii of the clocke in the afternoone the sayd Erles accompanyed wyth Rychard Norton, Francys hys sone, with dyvers other of hys sayd sones, Xpoferr Nevell,*

* In the act of attainder, he is called of Kirbymoreside, Co. York. He married Anne, daughter and co-heir of John Fulthorpe, of Hipswell, widow of Francis Wandisford, of Kirklington, Esq.—He was an active promoter of the Rebellion, and his character appears to have been strongly tinctured with turbulence and immorality. He is mentioned as having gone to a horse race at Gatherly Moor, to assault, and even to kill Christopher, the son and heir of Thomas Rokeby, of Morton.—*Whitaker's Richmond, Vol. I, p.* 171.

On the discomfiture of the rebels, he took refuge at Fernihurst. His brother Cuthbert and himself were suspected to be lurking about Brancepeth, sometime after the rebellion:—they both escaped to Flanders.—In 1570, the Earl of Sussex sent Christopher Wandisford to Cecil, to solicit some relief for the wife of Neville:—"The berer hereof, Christopher Wandisford, that maryed a daughter of Sir George Bowes, and was with him in Barny Castell, and after, in all the siege against the Rebells. His mother was married to Chr. Nevell, who of long time *did deale very ill with her*, and now the land that was her joyntur is come to her Majesties hands by the offence of Nevell. Wandesford repareth thyther to be a Suter, that he may be fermor of the land that Nevell had, in the right of his mother; and that some porcyon of the rent might be allowed to his mother for her mayntenance. And for that the sute seemeth very reasonable, and he hath very cherefully and dewtyfully served the Qu. Ma. in the hole tyme of the Rebellyon, and is of the best sorte in lyving and habyletye in the Bishoprick: I am bold to recomend him to you, to pray you to shew your good favor towards him in all such matters as he shall declare to you herein, and shall seem reasonable to you.—10 *April*, 1570. *MS. State Papers.*

In 1574, the Lord President ordered the houses of John Rudyard and John Ratcliffe of Gisburne to be searched—who had been at Brancepath, and only left the Earls the Friday before they "rose."——From the depositions of the parties, and the papers discovered, it appeared that Nevill had given the Rectory of Kirbymoreside to William Barkley, alias Smith, whose wife Katherine was the reputed "concubine" of Neville.—She had sent Elizabeth Fenwick, alias Alnwick, with a *ring of gold* to Farnihurst, to Neville, but she did not see him then: the Earl of Westmoreland gave her two shillings—she was sent a second time, before Easter, and gave Neville the ring at *Hundelee*; he sent no token in return, but desired Katherine Smyth, "by word of mouth, to lyve according to the laws,"—and he said,

Cudbert Nevyll,* uncles of the sayd Erle of Westmerland, and Thomas Markynfelde, wythe others, to the nomber of three [score] horsemen, armed in corsletts and coytts of playt, with speares, harquebusses, and dagges; and entred the mynster theyr, [at Durham] and theyr toke all the bokes, but one, and theyme and the comunyon table defaced, rentt, and brok in peces. And after made a proclamatyon in the Quenes name, that no man, before theyr pleasur knowne, shuld use any servyce: and callyng the cetezens before theyme, told theyme how they had done nothyng but that they wold avowe, and was after the Quenes procedynges. And so taryinge abowt the space off one hour, they departyde; puttyng a watche of twenty-four townsmen to the towne, whiche tooke a servante of myne, which I sent thither, and hyme caryed to hys lodgynge, and theyr he was kept tyll this morninge, and so came away.

In haste, at Barnard Castle, the xvth of Nov. at xii off the cloke, 1569. Your Lordships wholly at commandment.

[*This letter, which is extremely difficult to read, is evidently written in great haste; for it is addressed to "my singular good Lord the Erle of Westmerland, Lord President of the Quenes Majesties counsell established in the North Parts," instead of to the Earl of Sussex.*]—*Orig. Calig. B. IX.* 331.

The Council of the North to Sr. G. Bowes, 16th Nov.

Sr George Bowes,—We perceive by your letters, and the credite of Roberte Bowes, given upon your instructons, your earnest dispositon for the service of the Q. Majesty; which wee doo very well allowe and commend in you; and towching the contents of the whole, we think good, if the horsemen that you write of, do ride abrode with

further, that he had left enough for her; and that "he would never think well of them that were not good to hir."

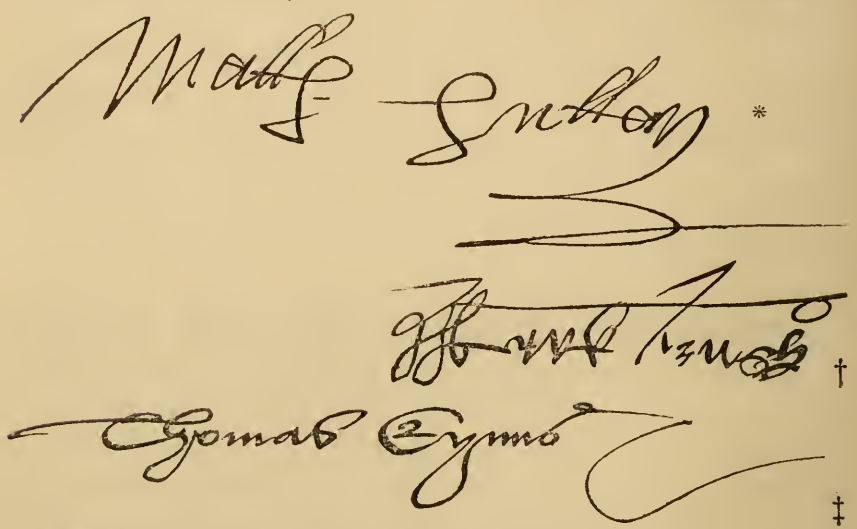
Christopher Neville was at Lovaine in 1571; he was a pensioner of the King of Spain, and died in exile.

* Of Brancepath, brother to Christopher. He took an active part at Durham in "setting up" the altars. He, also, died in exile.

intente to spoile the country, or to raise the people, that then you sholde doo what with suerty you may, by all defenseve and offenseve meanes you can to take them. And if they attempte nether of these, then consideringe the force here is not assembled, we wolde gladly they shold not be provoked to any owtragiowse attempt, whereby perill might ensue, untill we were in force to stay them; the rather, leaste upon any such accident, the false bruts wherewith they seke to abuse the people might be increased, if abowte the attempts you write of, it might fortune any of yours to miscarye.

So foreseing the peril, and not assured of the benefit, we leave to your discrecon to deal therein, as upon occasion ye shall see to be fittest for her Majestys service.

And so we bid you heartely well to fare, having made some declaration to the berer, Robert Bowes, of matter too long to write of. At York, the xvith of Nov. 1569,
Your assured friend, T. Sussex.



Original, Bowes MS. Vol. I. No. 7.

* Matthew Hutton, Dean of York; successively Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop of York.

† Sir Henry Gates, of Seamer, Co. York, was an active member of the
[Continued p. 39.]

‡ Thomas Ennys was secretary from 1556. In his wife's epitaph, extant
[Continued p. 39.]

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 16*th Nov.*

Sens my layt letters, yt ys moste certeynlye informede, and I know yt to be trewe, for thoes that harde and sawe hathe informed [me], that proclamacons hathe bene mayd at Durham and Stayndrope, to th effecte of theys wordes set forthe in a note here inclosed. And thys nyght, in the evenyng, bothe th Erles, with a great bande of horsmen, dyd ryde forthe, and was sene pass sowthwardes, towardes Darneton, and, as the brutte goethe, meanethe to passe to Rychmonde, which Town ys greatly myslyked, and upon good caws; for John Sayer, beyng one of the commysyoners, comyng to the Towne, and warnynge theyme to be redy to repayre hether, he fownde no man in any redynes, eyther colde perceyve in certeyntye that they wolde obey, tho they sayd, with hys persuasyon, that they wold be dewtyful. Wherfore he in great feare ys repayred hether, wher our assemble ys not great, and utterly unfurnyshed eyther of horses, armour, or good weapon, except onley the

Council of the North. He was condemned, and narrowly escaped execution, as an adherent of the LadyJane Grey. He was appointed by the Privy Council to be Sheriff of Yorkshire, 13th Nov. 1569, but he was then so "sick in bed," that he was unable to accept the office: and Lord Sussex (16th Nov.) named Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sir George Bowes, and Mr. Vaughan, to the Council, as the "fittest to supplie his place." He took possession of Hartlepool after the departure of the rebels, with 300 men. On the 3rd Jan. 1569–70, he was ordered, with Mr. John Vaughan, on a mission to the Regent (Murray) to demand the delivery of the Earl of Northumberland. He was accompanied, however, by Capt. Will. Drury. Their mission was unsuccessful, (*see Lodge, Vol. II. p.* 291,) the regent wishing the demand deferred "until such tyme as he might have gotten the rest or some moe." In Feb. 1572, he was rewarded by the Queen with the fee farm of Markenfeld, and the manor of Bemyshe, and the parke there—stated to be parcel of the possessions of Thomas Markenfeld—paying the reserved rents.—*Privy Seal Records.* In 1573, he had a grant of the manor and park of Holmside, and lands at Roughside and Moreside, in socage—at a crown rent of £4.—*Surtees, Vol. II. p.* 326; and in June, 1575, he had the lease, on surrender, of the parsonage of Hudmanby, alias Humanby, Co. York.—*Privy Seal Records.* He died at Seamer, 7th April, 1589.

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at York, she is stated to have been one of the gentlewomen of Queen Elizabeth's privy chamber, and daughter of Sir Edward Nevill, Bart. She died Feb. 1583.

jentyllmen. So that we have a mervellows lack of armour, but specyally of weapone; and can nott tell howe to supply yt, eyther for theys, nor for thoes fotmen appointyd to be in redyness at Darneton, the xxi of thes moneth. But all the helpe that may be shal be done; but we the commyssyoners, weying the dangerows tyme, and the myslykyng that the people in theys so ny the dangerous places, will have to have money levyed; hathe thought good to gett to us so many of the better sorte, withowt speche of any assessment, as we can; save onely for their own nedes, untyl we hear further of your L. pleasure, myndyng, in the meane tyme not to deal with any assessmente.

The intellygens we now have ys, that ther have comed owt of Rydesdale, Tynedayl, and other the partes of Northumberlande, great noumbers of horsmen; so that they be nowe wholly joyned togethers, and I shortly trust to understande the certantye of ther noumber. We contynewely stande in armour, daye and nyght, as well for our owne savetye, as for the savyng and comfortyng of the people, which, by theyr owtredges, is in mervellows feare. And thus stayinge ourselves redy to serve, as we shal be commandyt, I humble take my leave. From Bernard Castle, the xvith of Nov. at viii of the clock in the mornynge.

The common rumour and report amonges the Erles company ys, that they purpose thys daye to be at Rychmonde, or thys towne; but by all lykelyhode they intende fyrst to passe to Rychmonde, hopynge therbye greatly to increase theyr force. And consederyng that in cayse they doe take Rychmonde, that then I can not by letter give advertysement to your L. of the daylye occurrents and doynges, but to be in daunger to be interceptyde. I, therfore, thowght good to remember thus muche to your L. that upon want of any advertysement to your L. in lyke order as I doe now, your L. doe conceyve no worse thereof then ther shal be caws; and also to praye your L. pleasure and advyse in all theys cawses, which sewre requirethe haste.

Yesterdaye Sir John Nevell,* as one who semethe to knowe hym very well, sayethe, departyd forth of the Erles troup with iii horsemen, in great haste; rode over thys river at ..... towards Westmerland, to what end God knoweth.

I humble beseche your L. to send me fifty pounds, for I have great layeings owte for many servyces, and now begynnethe to lacke money; and I shall aunswer yt agayn within one monethe. And, yf yt please your L. delyver yt thys bearer, Thomas Dande, or John Hewton.

The words or effecte of the proclamation made at Stayndrop, 15th Nov. 1569. Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmerland, "Do the people to "understand, that they intend noo hurte unto the Quenes "Majestie, nor hyr good subjectes; but for as muche as the "order of things in the churche and matters of religyon,

* Of Leversege, Co. York.—High Sheriff 1560.—After the rebellion he was received at Hume Castle.

On the 17th April, 1570, he was still there, as Lord Hunsdon, in a letter to Cecil, states, that "having occasion to send to my Lord Hume, I sent a servant of myne, who had been, before, acquainted with Sir John Nevyll; and whilst my man tarried for answer of my letter, Sir John Nevyll entered into some talk with my said servant, and wished that himself, with the rest, might return into their country and enjoy the benefit of the same. To whom my servant answered, that their doings had been such against the Quenes Majesty and their country, as it would hardly be brought to pass. Whereupon Sir John Nevyll told my servant that he had drawn certain articles, which if her Majesty would agree to, they would gladly return: and then withdrew out a piece of paper, and prayed him to look upon it and rend it back again." Lord Hemsdon considers that this was only the work of Sir John Nevill individually, and that his companions in misfortune were ignorant of his proposals; nothing further ensued, and shortly afterwards Sir John escaped to Flanders, where he was joined by his wife. He was at Lovaine in 1571, and shortly afterwards "departed towar is Rome."—*Murdin*, *p.* 191. He was a pensioner of the King of Spain, and died in exile.

In July, 1573, the Queen grants to Edward Carey, one of the grooms of the privy chamber, a lease, for 21 years, of the manor of Hunslett, and lands in Holbecke and Knowelsthorpe, rent £116 4s. 9d. and of the manor of Kellington, rent £38 17s. with other *quilletts* in Co. York; late parcel of the lands of Sir John Nevell, attainted.—*Privy Seal Records.*

In Feb. 1574, the Queen granted to Robert Nevell, Gent. his son, out of his fathers large possessions, the pittance of £20 a year, during pleasure, to be paid by the receiver of York, out of Leversedge.—*Privy Seal Records.*

"are presentlye sett furthe and used contrarye to the "auncyent and Catholicke faythe: therefore there purposes "and meanynges are, to redewce all the said cawses in "relygyon to the ancyent customes and usages before used, "wherein they desyre all good people to take their partes."

Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX. 341, 342; *also a rough copy Bowes MS. V. II, p.* 45. *wanting the two paragraphs of the letter after "mornynge."*

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, Nov. 17*th.*

My bownden dewty premised, pleaseth yt your Lo. to be advertysed: the two Earles yesterday passed to Richmond, and ther made proclamation, which, by cause of the difference of reports in some parts, I omitte to advertise; and the rest was, that where[as) ther was certaine counsellors cropen in aboute the Prince, which had excluded the nobility from the Prince, and had set furthe lawes contrary to the honor of God, and the welth of the Realme, which they ment to reforme; wherupon they had assembled themselves, trustinge that the people would taike their parte, which they requyred. And then they dowted not but they showld restore the antient lawes, as masse and other things, now laide awaye. And at Darnton was made the like proclamation,* where they offer

* The proclamations of the Earls all accuse the Queens counsellors of seeking to destroy the ancient nobility and the true religion (see one in Strype, vol. I. p. 547.) The Darlington proclamation assumes more characteristic importance from its having been penned by Thomas Jenny, at the dictation of Marmaduke Blakiston, and by command of the Earl of Westmoreland. "Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, the Queens most trewe and lawful subjects, and to all her highness people, sendeth greeting:—Whereas diverse newe set upp nobles about the Quenes Majestie, have and do dailie, not onlie go aboute to overthrow and put downe the ancient nobilitie of this realme, but also have misused the Queens Majesties owne personne, and also have by the space of twelve years nowe past, set upp, and mayntayned a new found religion and heresie, contrarie to Gods word. For the amending and redressing whereof, divers foren powers doo purpose shortlie to invade thes realmes, which will be to our utter destruction, if we do not ourselves speedilie forfend the same. Wherefore we are now constreyned at this tyme to go aboute to amend and redresse it ourselves, which if we shold not do and forerenners enter upon as we shold

great wage to suche as will serve them; and hath not only stayed the people in many parts of Richmondshire for assembling to me, and the commissioners hither, but hath in the bishoprick called all the people in Darneton together, and this daye they make their musters there, and appoint Captaines to such nomber of fotemen as they have levied. They have constreined, by force, sundrie to followe them; as the people of Bishopton, tenants of John Conyers,* my sonne in law, being readie to come forwards to serve the Quenes Majestie under him heare, they not only forced them to go with them, but compelled the rest of the towne, armed, and unarmed, to go to Darneton; and owrly advertisement cometh, of their constreining men to serve them. And the feare is so increased, that in [a] manner no man dare travell; yet for any thing I can learne, the whole people of Richmondshire meaneth to be dutifull, but dare not assemble towards us heare, for feare of interceptinge, as one towards me is intercepted, and yet not hurt; but, knowing he was a servant to [a] gentleman, my servant, now sycke, they have commanded him to warn his Master, upon

be all made slaves and bondsmen to them. These are therefore to will and require you, and every of you, being above the age of sixteen years and not sixty, as your dutie towards God doth bynde you, for the settinge forthe of his trewe and catholicke religion; and as you tender the common wealth of your contrie, to come and ressort unto us with all spede, with all such armour and furnyture as you, or any of you have. This fail you not herein, as you will answer the contrary at your perills. God save the Quene."—*Indorsed by Lord Huntingdon*—"*Thys came from Syr John Forster.*"—*MS. Harl. No.* 6990, 44.

* John Conyers, of Sockburne, Esq. the lineal representative of the "faulchion Knight" of Sockburne, and of the Lords of Bishopton, Barons of the Bishoprick. He married Agnes, daughter of Sir George Bowes, mar. art. 26th Sep. 10th Eliz. then called the "eldest" daughter. Her portion was paid by instalments; and a receipt, dated 6th Jan. 11th Eliz. from John Conyers, for "foure score pounds and foure shillings," states that he is "satysfyed, contented, and payed". He was an active auxiliary to Sir George Bowes during the rebellion, and a vigilant Magistrate afterwards.—He was knighted by James I. on his first entrance into England, in 1603. He died at Sockburne, where he was buried, 2nd Feb. 1609-10.

paine of spoile, that tomorrow he be with them at Allerton. And so nowe they occupye much of the bottome of the countrye; and for all that, they exceeded not yesterday four hundred horsemen and five hundred fotemen, the more part of which fotemen are clearly unarmed. Christopher Nevill is gone into Kirkby-moreside to raise people, and comethe thorowe Cleaveland. The matter groweth very hot, and sure in my opinion requireth to be expedited; as what with feare, of faire speche, or moneye, they drawe awaye the harts of people; and sure besydes my owne, and those apperteyning such of my friends, as will with me adventure all, ther eis not heare as yet above seventy men, and manye of them not the best furnished.

Yesterday, Francis Norton, with the nomber of one hundred horsemen, hath entred John Sayers house, at Worsall, and therein taken his sone, and some portion of armour, which is not great; but much discomforteth him for his sone. The armour is six corslets, two or three harquebushes, and six muryons, which he weiethe not.

This day, young Nicholas Fairfax, with a great companye, hath entred the house of Anthony Kattrick, and taken therein his two sons in law, Lambert* and Mennell;†

* Robert Lambert, of Owton, Co. Durham, married Grace, daughter of Anthony Catterick, of Stanwick. He was condemned, and narrowly escaped the scaffold, at York, being "stayed for the second execution." He was attainted. His name does not occur afterwards.

In August, 1571, a lease of the capital house of Owton, and lands, the possession of Rob. Lambert, attainted, was made to William Knolles, Gent. for 31 years—rent, £33 6s. 8d. And in Jan. 1574-5, certain of his lands in Yorkshire, of the yearly value of £5 11s. 10d. were sold to Charles Hall, Gent. for £128 13s.—*Privy Seal Records.* *See Surtees, Vol. III. p.* 133.

† Roger Mennel, of North Kilvington, Co. York, called a servant, or retainer, of the Earl of Leicester, married Margaret, daughter of Anth. Catterick, of Stanwick. He was not attainted; yet he appears to have suffered severely, as Lord Scroop writes to Cecil, 6th Nov. 1570, to solicit his pardon, stating, that he was forcibly taken away from Stanwick, "and from thence conveyed to the Rebells, and with whom he remayned a whyle, against his will; and, fearing the extremity of the laws against them, fled into Scotland." He adds, that both Sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes, his brother, have made reports of the truth of this statement, and, at the desire of Sir George Bowes and others, he now signifies the same.—*State Papers.*

which Mennell was but gone thither, meaninge of the morowe to come hither; and is servant to the Earl of Leicester.

They soght for my children, where they were at scole, but yesterdaye I brought them hyther; but in the towns, in [a] manner, every where, they take away the whole people; and we come too late with our comandments, which yet we proceede with, and shall do the best I maye, havinge manye things to dele in, bothe for feare of the worst, and comfortinge the fearfull, faynt, or false. I doubt to get any more advertisements, but wisheth speade be made, and promiseth dutifull obedience and diligence, to the full of my wytts and power; and will and shall ende with a dutiful and obedient hart, yeilding my breathe in truthe to everie authority; and thus commending my service to your Lordships directions, promising to preserve the people comcd under my charge, withoute any attempte, but in defence. I humbly take my leave, in haste, at Barnard Castle, the 17th Nov. 1569, at nine of the clocke.

They, this daye, at Richmonde, made a great muster; but what is further done I am nott yet advertised.

They use the Quenes Majesties name in their calls, with threatening to burne suche as absent themselves. The Erle of Northumberland beareth a guydon before his troope.

Masse was yesterday at Darnton; and John Swinburn, with a staffe, drove before him the poor folks, to hasten them to hear the same.

After the wryting hereof, two of the most substantialest men of the town of Richmond did come unto us, and declared the comandments that the Erle of Northumberland had given them; and how he had required, firste by faire speche, and after by offers of money, and lastlye by threats of burninge and spoilinge, that they should give him ayde of an hundreth men; but they wold not confesse to grant any. Lastly, they had day given, to make answer to of the morrowe, at which tyme they were newly provoked, and practises made to bring them to it, but they still

refused; then it was told them, that the most parte of the gentlemen with me was escaped hence, and was come to them; but, finallye, after many speeches, it was required that they wold conduct him, being not above sixty persons, to the other Erle, to Allerton, whereunto they were content to bringe him to the bounds of their town, [but not] further. Whereupon he would have them armed, and desyred but one hundrethe; but they saide they wold all go, but unarmed: whereupon they went indede, to the nomber of three hundred men, of all sorts; and at the out lymits of their bounds they wold have departed, but there they were newly set on againe, but it could not prevaile, and so they departed. And, in goinge awaye, sundry of the Erles servants offered to take some stele caps and bylls from them, but they wylled them to staye, or they shoulde wyn them witb strypes; wherupon they all returned home: yet the Erle, at their parting, saide, that if they sent him not one hundrethe men, to morrow, to Leaming, or at the furthest, that night, to Ryppon, he, in his return, wold burne and spoile the towne. They have nowe, by thes men, promised dutyful obedience, and promised to notifye the effecte of the comyssion delivered me this daye, dated yesterday, which satisfiethe much people, which I earnestly seke, therefore, to get known everie where, and order is nowe geven for the same.

The Erles seme they will lie this night at Allerton, and to morrow at night to Ryppon; but my intelligence sayeth (wherof there is also great likelihood) that they will this night to Rippon, where they are in great hope much to be encresed; and sayeth further, that they will either attempte you at Yorke,* yf they like their force, or else drawe

* So early as the 10th October, the Innholders, Taverners, and Tiplers, were examined, if they had ever heard any reports or rumours between the Queen and her Nobles, or between the Nobles and Commons, tending to any slander or dishonour, which they all deny; and they are charged to declare what they may hear hereafter, to the Mayor. On the 9th Nov. orders are given "for the safetie of the Citie;" and, on the 17th, the Lord Lieutenant issued the following proclamation:—

towards Lankashire. But good, my Lord, looke to your owne safetye, for therein lyethe all the hope of the good speade of the whole affayres; and for advertisements I must now cease, for that they are drawn farr from me. Sir John Nevell hathe promised to meate them at Ryppon, and they want much of others also, but they will staye much of small occasion. Sure their threats be great towards me, promising, upon their return, to assalte me; but I trust, by Goddes helpe, the old adage, in them, shall be verified, "God sendeth an evil wylled cow with short hornes." Fynally, for trewthe, this day, at noone, they no waye altogether, could make five hundred horsemen and five hundred fotemen as before, which fotemen, for the most part, be without armour or weapon; but no doubt they will nowe growe great of these simple people, rather shapes than matter. But now to complaine: our lacks, which is armour, and weapon, and money, for the contreth of Yorkshire never goeth to war but for wages; the people already complaineth, and yet have I bestowed the little I had amongst them, and hath prepared such store of victall that they shall not lack, which hathe and dothe both pleasure and content them well. But, would to God I had your Lordships warrant to the Quenes Majesties Armour at Newcastle, for I wold make a convey in their absence to get some, for that, indeed, is our greatest lack. And thus, again, I end; wishing again that your Lordship take good heed to yourself. From Barnard Castle, the 17th Nov. at twelve of the clock at night, 1569.

Original, Calig IX. 353. *Copy at Streatlam, No.* 6, *Vol. II. Bowes MS.*

"My Lord Lieutenant, acting in the Quenes Majesties name, streightly charges and comands all manner of persons, of what estate or degree so ever they be, that they do not use any maner of speche, that may tende to the hinderance any wayes of the Qu. Ma. service, or the furtheryng or favoryng of any sedicyouse person, or of their doyngs: and also comandeth every person that shall happen to heare any suche speche to stay the partie so speaking (if he be hable), or otherwise to make presente declaracon to his Lordship, or to some other of hir Majesties mynisters, to be by theym declared to his Lordship, upon paine and punishment that may insue."—T. Sussex. God save the Quene.—*Corporation Records, York.*

On the 17th Nov. the Council of York write to the Privy Council, that Christopher Neville is raising the tenantry; that "the Earles are gone to Richmond, where the Erle of Northumberland is the Quenes Majesties Officer;* and the Countess, his wyf, is gone thither to them." "The most of the gentlemen be fled to Sir George Bowes, to Barney Castell, to whom Robert Bowes, his brother, is also repared, with certen of the Bishoprick."—*MS. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 18th Nov.

Good Sr. George,—I sende unto you, herewith, the Quenes Majesties letters to my Ld. Warden of the Middle Marches, and to Mr. Drury;† and a packet also to Mr. Drury.

I sende you also my letters to the Erle of Comberland to sende to you a hundreth horsemen, and to my Ld.

* He was Steward of the Liberties of Richmond and Richmondshire.

† "This gentleman, (says *Lodge, V. II, p.* 31,) who had served almost from his childhood in the French wars of the three preceding reigns, was reputed a person of the strictest rectitude of private conduct, as well as a brave and active soldier." He was appointed a Captain of Berwick 22 Sep. 1 Eliz. 1559, and was afterwards Marshal. He was sent with Sir Henry Gates to the Regent Murray, to demand the person of the Earl of Northumberland. He was knighted by the Earl of Sussex at Carlisle, 11 May 1570. In September, 1572, he obtained, at his special suit, the pardon of William Smith, of Nunstainton, Esqr. for rebellion, with restitution of goods; though in April, 1573, the Queen made him "a gift" of Eastmoor, Mydlemoor, Canvill Hills, and Brode Close, parcel of the possessions of William Smith, attainted, in the parish of Heighington, of the yearly value of £17 13 4. *(Privy Seal Records.)*

He commanded the English Forces which took Edinburgh Castle in 1573. His services were subsequently transferred to Ireland, and Sir Henry Sidney writes to the Lords of the Council—1575, *(Collins Sidney)* that "he is so grateful and welcome a man unto me, as any of his ranke and place in England could be; I knowe his valor and worthines, and what estimation is held of hym of the best, which he hath well deserved."

He was Lord President of Munster, and maintained the peace and tranquillity of the country. In 1579 he is styled "Lord Justice, and Governor of Ireland."

He died at Waterford in October 1579, uniting all suffrages, and according to Camden, he was "a man certainly of approved vertue."

Wharton, to come himself with his force of horsemen; and therin write, that they shold appoint with you whether they shall mete with you at Barny Castell, Richmond, or any place betwene bothe, and what day and hower.

I send you also a letter to Sir John Foster, to send you, with all the spede he may, one or two hundreth horsemen, as he may spare their service: and, therefore, I pray you, write to them all, to understand ther certen times of cominge to you; and gather you all the force of horsemen and furnished fotmen you can get against that tyme; and, if you can, advertise me some certen tyme of ther cominge, that I may sende you further direccons against that tyme.

The Erles be this night at Rippon, and ther horsemen be somwhat increased; but ther pore *rascall* fotmen, that for feare, come slowly on the one day, go away a pace willingly on the other, so as ther chife force is horsemen, which be well appointed.

I am this night in some strength, and to morrow I hope I shall be a good force; and, if they see I growe too stronge for them, they will drawe back againe: and, therefore, I seek to make you stronge there. By the next you shall receive that you lack by this, for haste. At York, the xviiith of November, 1569.

I wolde Richmonde were kept from them, if it might be.

Yr. assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Sende my L. of Comberland's letter to my L. of Wharton, and he will see it conveyed.

Orig. No. 8, *Vol. I. Bowes MS. The rough copy without the P.S. Calig IX. No.* 332.

The Queen's letter to the Earl of Sussex, of the 15th, (see *Haynes, p.* 553) would now have been received, in which she remarks that he had not sought to apprehend Northumberland when he was at Topliffe, "which we wryte very privatley, as a thyng marked by our self," and

"cold not overpass." And in the minute of the Quenes letter, sent by Freville (p. 555), she writes fully on the subject of the Rebellion; expressing a wish that he had given more particular information as to the proceedings at Durham—as to the evil counsellors about the Earls—and as to their making religion the "shewe of theyr enterprise;" which she directs him publicly to contradict, and to state, that it is their wish to bring the realm under a foreign yoke, and to make it the "spoile of strangers;" that one of the Earles has alredy so "spoyled his owne patrimonie, as he will not let to spoile and consume all other mens that he may cume by." She approves of his intention to be within twelve miles of "Bransby" on the 21st, desiring him to use good foresight and circumspection; and, if of sufficient strength, to "sett uppon the rebells," but if he is weake, then to entertain them "with talk and other devises," for "drawyng foorth of tyme," until the arrival of Lord Hunsdon, with such force as he can provide; but not to let the rebels think that delay ariseth from weakness. She expresses her surprise that he should doubt the loyalty of her people; and thinks that she must have many faithful and loyal subjects in "that countrie." If any persons stir any mutinie amongst his men, the "spedy execution of two or three" is recommended. She will take care to prevent any foreign aid; and will raise troops in the shires adjoining for his "better strength and backing." As to his recommendation of mercy, that, being of her own nature "inclined to mercie," she cannot pardon the Earls and their principal adherents, without further deliberation; but "for the meane sort" she has, by a special letter, authorized him to grant her pardon.* Finally she does not doubt his fidelity, of

* The Earl issued his proclamation immediately on the receipt of these letters. It is preserved in the records of York; and as it has not been found elsewhere, and is withal a curious document, it is here given entire:—

A Proclamacon set forth by the Lord Levetenant the xixth of Novembre, 1569, by vertue and commandment of the Quenes Majesties Warrant, directed to hym for that purpose, bearyng date the xvth of Novembre, 1569.

which she makes "no lesse accompt thereof then it well deserveth."

"Whereas Thomas, Erle of Northumberland, and Charles, Erle of Westmerland, beyng severally comanded, upon their dewties of allegeance, to make their repare, without delay, to the Quenes Majestie, our Soveraigne Lady, by her Majesties owne severall letters of the tenth of this presente, and delivered to either of them the xivth of the same, have wilfully and contemptuously disobeyed her Majesties comandment; and, sythens that tyme, have, with Xpofer Nevil, Richard Norton, of Norton Conyars, Thomas Markenfeld, of Markenfeld, John Swynburne, Robert Tempest, and Francis Norton, Esquiers, and others, comitted, perpetrated, made and done dyverse unlawfull offenses, contrary to their naturall dewties of allegiance to the Quene, our Soverayne Lady; and have levied and gathred to theym great nombres of hir Majesties subjects, as well horsemen as footmen, and, contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and in offence of hir Majesties royall crown and dignitie, have put theym in armor and warrelyke furnyture; and doo dayley, to the great feare of hir Ma. good subjects, draw unto theym violently great forces; and doo, often tymes, therin abuse the Quenes Majesties name and authoritie, to further their wicked [ends] and purposes; and intend to procede further in their rebellious enterprises, if the same, by her Majesties good subjects, be not in tyme prevented, resisted, and stayed: Wherefore, in the Quenes Majesties name, and by her special good comandement and warrant, doo, by theis presents, denounce and publishe the said Erles of Northumberland. &c. [as above] to be rebelles ageynst our Soveraigne Lady the Quenes Majestie and her most royal crowne, and disturbers of the union, peace, and quiet of hir highnes realms and dominions, for the unlawfull and rebellious facts by them perpetrated and comytted: And, in her Mats. name, comand that these and everye of them be, from hensforth, reputed and taken, with all the Quenes Mats. liege people, as rebellious persons and rebelles to hir highnes and [her] royal crowne.

"And furthermore, we, in her Majesties name, and by hir order, comandment, and authoritie, do comande all hir Majesties true and faithfull subjects to avoide and flee from the company, aydyng, or assisting of any of the said Erles or other rebelliouse persons before mencioned; and doo, by theis presents, receyve to hir graces mercie and free pardone, all such persons, other then hereafter be exempted, as have accompanied the said Erles of Northumberland, &c. [as above] or any of them, in their undewtiful acts; so that every suche person as hath accompanied the said Erles, and other persones as before said, will and doe, before the xxiind day of November, 1569, repare and goe to their dwelling howses and places, and there remayne quietly, and not to abeyde in company of the said Erles, or either of them, or of the said Richard Norton, Thomas Markenfeld, or any of the other persons aforesaid, after the said xxiind day before specified. And her Majesties pleasure is, that the said Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Xpofer Nevill, Egremond Radcliffe, Richard Norton, Thomas Markenfeld, John Swinburn, Robert Tempeste, Francis Norton, and Thomas Gennye, be exempted from the enjoying of the benyfite of this presente pardon, or any part thereof.

The Earl of Sussex published another proclamation, in compliance with the Queen's orders, "declaring truly the falsehood and vaine delusion wherby the Earles and there confederates abuse the Quenes Majesties subjects, to maintayne ther rebellious enterprise."* And the Earls published their justification; in which they state, that the object of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundell, the Earl of Pembroke, themselves, "and divers others of the ancient nobility," &c. was to determine "to whom of meare right the true succession of the crown appertey-neth."†

Sir George Bowes to Secretary Cecil, 19th Nov.

My humble dutye premised, pleaseth your honour to be advertised: the mutteringe rumours, whereof the matters was long kept close, is now in a most fierie flame burst out, to the generall alarme of this comon welth, and great danger, no doubte, (what shewe so ever be made) to the person of the Prince. These Earles hathe, and dothe, everie where, burne the service bokes and bible; and breake the com[uni]on tables; and set owte proclamacons and preceptes, the copies whereof I send to your honour herewithe, havinge some of them under there owne handes. They dailie alter them; for in the begininge they used there owne names, and others, endinge with threats of

"And if any person shall adheare or accompany to, or with any of the said Erles or persones before exempted, or any of them, to be [accounted] rebells, and thereby exempted from the benefite of this pardone. And will and comande all hir Majesties subjects so to repute and take them. God save the Quene. T. Sussex."

* *Strype, Vol. I. p.* 549, where it appears in full; and correct, with the exception of a misprint of "flock," for "stock," when speaking of the nobility. Strype dates it the 28th; but it would rather appear to have been published immediately after the Queen's commandment to that effect.

† *Strype, Vol. I. p.* 547, where it is printed at length, and agrees with that signed by the Earl of Northumberland, only. *Orig. Harl. MS.* 6990, 43, on which is written, by the Earl of Huntingdon, "I had this from the Dean of York." The proclamations of the Earls are without date or place, so that it is difficult to determine their exact progression.

spoilinge; and nowe they use the Quenes Majesties name. They, more by coertion then favor, have, oute of the Bishoprick, Richmondshire, and Allertonshire, levied greate numbers of people of foot; and hath made divers spoils of some gentlemen, but that was but armour; and of some protestants, such armour or money as they found. Their force is best in assemblinge, for dailie there cometh some to them; and, at this instant, they are at Ripon. They

The distribution of the little garrison of Barnard Castle is given in the following document, unfortunately, without a date; yet it would appear to apply to this period, and to be before the arrival of the troops from the West:—

WATCH AND WARD, BARNARD CASTLE.

Mr. Wyvell Christopher Wandisford Mr. Dodsworth	21	Over part of the many Gates.
Robert Wycliffe 4 Mr. Blakiston 11	15	The West Gate House.
John Conyers 4 Christopher Wandisford 4 Byran Smithson 2	10	The Stable joining the Lords Stable.
The Constable 5 Henry Wandisford 2 Leonard Bennes 1 Francis Parkinson 1	9	The Stable within Brackenbury Tower.
Sir George Bowes 13 His Servants 16 His Servants 3	32	Lords Stable — Bowes Tower—Stable in the South Wards.
Robert Bowes 34 Mr. Blakiston 4	38	The House within many Gates—The West end of Constable Tower.
Mr. Tailboys 6 Griffith Kenyston 1 My Mother 3 Mr. Tonge 4	14	The Constable Tower.
Mr. Vincent 6 Of mine own 6	12	In the Hall end.
Mr. John Conyers 13 Mr. Robert Bowes Men 3 Mr. Bainbridge 3 Little Robert Bowes 4 Mr. Robert Askwith 2 Mr. Christopher Askwith 2 Mr. Girlington 5 Mr. Nicholas Girlington 2	33	The Hall head.
Mr. Sayer 11 Mr. Metcalf 1	12	West Side, hard to the many Gates.
Mr. Rookby 7 Mr. Hall 3 Mr. Clerke 2	12	The East side of many Gates.

—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 15.

have verie sore menaced me, because I was nere them. By vertue of such commissions as was sent unto me, I have drawen away, according to their bounden dutie, the whole gentlemen of Richmondshire, and a great nomber of the Bishopricke, which, with me, remainethe here, at the Quenes Majesties Castle, at Barnard Castle; accompanied with four hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen. And dailie the dutiful sorts of bothe these countries drawe to me, where we have put ourselves in such a rediness, that, upon warning, we all are redie to serve her Majestie, with the bestowing of our lives, which sure shall be the end of my dutie; and redie to folowe what direction shall come from her highness, by any in authority. For there journeys, this bearer can inform; and there wicked doings is now so well known, that, if men would hold their tongues, the verie stones would utter yt; the repressing whereof requires some spede, lest delaye of time myght draw awaie the wanderinge mynds of some such as yet do nothinge. But, no doubte, some is taken against their will, and many with their will, or, at least, did not so well avoide as they might. But I received good comfort whilst I was in writing hereof; for the people compelled to go against their wills, being all ready to mutiny, and many stealethe away; and I hear of no man of credit that doth adhere unto them, but such as was from the beginninge of the close conspirators, and now sheweth the same. There force of horsemen exceedeth not a thousande; and for there fotemen, no estimate can be made, because they never went in march: the more part is without armour or weapon, and no great store of money, which is also a lack to us, the Quenes dutifull subjectes. Their threatenings are great againste the Earl of Leicester, you, and others of the most painfull and dutiful servants to the Quenes Majestie, whose reigne God long contynue with peace, and preserve you from the hands of these undutiful men; and so I take my leave. From Barnard Castle, the xixth of Nov.*

On this day he also writes a letter to Ralph Bowes, whom he styles his cousin, and who appears to be a retainer of the Earl of Leicester.

P.S.—The Lord Scroope hath instantlie sent unto me to use in this service all his tenants and servants; and, further, hathe sent me word, that he hathe five hundred horsemen in a rediness to serve the Quenes Majestie upon my call.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 8.

The Queen writes to the Earl of Cumberland (who was supposed to favor the cause of the Earls) to put himself, and such as he may command, in readiness to suppress all unloyal attempts to make assemblies "for their privat causes;" or "that you understand doo forbeare to obey our comands, being wylled to repayre to us." She desires him to receive knowledge from the Earl of Sussex, and to levy any power he may see necessary, without waiting to hear from him. *(Haynes, p.* 553.*)* To Sir Henry Percy, she writes, *(Haynes, p.* 555) that she approves of his constancy and forwardness, "although the same be against your brother of Northumberland;" and assures him, that she "will have regard to have the continuance of such a house, in the parson and blood of so faithfull a servant, as we trust to find you." And to Lord Scroop, she says, "we nothing dowte but you will continue in your former approved devotion for our house and service, as in all times we have had manifest experience in all matters which we have committed to your charge." *(Haynes, p.* 555.*)*

"The muttered speches of the factioners doyngs of theis two notheryn Erles, ys now by them selfs sett forth, to the great danger of the Quenes Majestie, the commonwealthe, and all good men; and speciallye your Lord and maister, which I pray God preserve. Ther doyngs I refer to the report of this bearer, to whom I have ymparted my knowledge the more lyberallye, because he shuld declare the same unto yowe. Our lack here ys money and armor, and we deale not so forwardly as I wold; but be sure of this, that *the last sobb of breathe shal be the end of my dutye*, which be bold to report. And, as I trust yt shall fall out, that my service hath stood the Quene in good steade, which I rather leve to others to report then to be my owne harrowld. I pray you have my service in remembrance to your L. whom I do honer, and wyshe as well unto as myself. I wyshe to heare from yowe; but I can imagine my self no way how to have the same, the ways be so intercepted. I wyshe to the, gud cossyn, as myself, with my most harty thanks for thy layt paynes. Fare well. From Barnard Castell."—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 7.

The precepts which Sir George Bowes, John Sayer, Christopher Wandisforth, Christopher Rokeby, and William Wycliffe, the Queen's Commissioners, issued to the bailiffs of the different townships, for the levying of her subjects, "of all sorts between the ayge of sexty and sexteene," had produced little effect, as the rebells were in possession of Richmond, and most of the townships in the immediate neighbourhood.*

The Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil on the 20th† Nov.—"He is a rare burde, that, by one meanes or other, hathe not some of his with the two Earles, or in his harte wisheth not well to the cause they pretend. The Earles, as you wryte, be olde in bloude, but poore in force. I have sent the Quenes letters and packet to Mr. Drury and Sir John Forster, to Sir George Bowes, which, I truste, will be delivered in safety." He desires Cecil to send him some "little money." —*State Papers.*

* In the fragment of a letter of the 17th Nov. to the Earl of Sussex, from the Commissioners, they state, that they met on the 16th, at Barnard Castle, and sent precepts to assemble all the horsemen of Richmondshire; and intended to have mustered all the horsemen and footmen; but both the Earls came to Richmond, and drew "the people to them:" "whereupon we are driven, for our own safety, to continue here together, and in our persons can not proceed for the execution of the said commission." Barnard Castle, at midnight.—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 39.

† On the same day Sir G. Bowes writes to Captain Will. Drury, that, "The two Earles, accompanied with Richard Norton, Thomas Markenfeld, with many other gentlemen of the Bishopricke, and none of reputation, else, wente on Monday last, to Durham, and have burned the service bookes, and broken the communion table. They made, by the mowthe of another, an oration, commending themselves, desiringe the aid of the people. On Tuesdaye, to Darington, there they sente for the sundrie precepts: proclamations most wicked. Wednesdaie, to Richmond, where they altered the manner of their proclamation, whiche is suche, if they be suche as the copies delivered, purporte, that it would grieve any honest hearte to heare it. I have some other of their doings, whereat there owne hands are, which be bad enoughe; the which I have one, of the copy whereof I send you, and for the other, because it toucheth so muche, and I have it not under their hands, I spare to certify the copye of. Thursday, they went to Allerton, and in there waye forced the whole people to followe them, muche againste most of their wills; and in the morning, by three of the clock, knowinge there was a muster appointed at Ryppon, they went thither, and put Sir William

Captain John Carvell to Sir W. Cecil, 21st Nov.* 1569.

Ever synce the tyme of this conspiracy and rebellion against our Prince and country, at the request and desyer of the Mayor and towne of Newcastle, made to the Marshall of Barwyk, for me, I have contynued here amongst them myself, helping to sett the best order emongst them

Ingleby, appointed for the purpose, from the said muster, in some danger; but [he] escaped well. It is thought they are now fourteen or fifteen hundred lighte horsemen, well appointed, and footmen a great number; the moste parte whereof is unarmed, and broughte forwards by coercion. I wish much to know what is become of Reade; and I advise you to look about you, for Jeffurth and two other disguised, is gone northwards, by Bransbethe: By Mr. Gower I may hear, for I divers times send thither. Thus scribbled, in haste, at the Quenes Majesties Castle of Barnard Castle, the xxth of November, 1569. I am here, of mine own friends, two hundred horsemen and four hundred footmen, and look to be much more by Sunday; and, if the Earls had stayed one day longer, I had been with them two thousand men, foot and horse. All the gentlemen of Richmondshire of any effect be with me; my being here serveth to such effect, as ye shall know hereafter. The good occasion of these letters to be conveyed to you, my dear friend, I now being the only post between York and Newcastle, prickeeth me forwards to let you understand, by a short discourse, the unhappy, wicked state of this time.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. No.* 8.

* A Captain of the garrison of Berwick, and a monumentally recorded friend of Mr. John Bennet, Master of the Ordnance of the North parts who died July 8th, 1568—

——his wife and children that caused this,
And Captain Carvel, a friend of his.

Brand's, Newcastle, Vol. I. p. 285.

Mr. Thomas Gower had been sent to Newcastle in the first instance, (p. 23), and is named in a letter from Sussex to the Queen, 3rd October, as "a man well given in religion and of good experiens, with instructions to assiste the Mayor to see the towne safely kept in respect of the armor, ordinance, and munycon there, if ther should appeare cause; and other wyse to remain there for a tyme, and to make no shew of any cause of his coming.—*State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex (21st Nov.) writes to Cecil, that Captain John Carvel has continued at Newcastle, "at the request and desire of the Mayor and town, made to Mr. Marshal, of Berwick," helping to set the best order amongst them for the defence of the town. They also want his company of fifty men to come from Berwick; and he wants his band "supplied and made up."—*State Papers.*

Sir George Bowes, in a letter to Lord Sussex from Barnard Castle, 25th Nov. 1569, entreats permission for Captain Carvell to increase his band "by his own means, in this needful time;" and adds, "I am able, upon the good dealings of the said Captain, to commend both his dutifulness and knowlege." —*Cotton MS. Calig IX.* 355**. *See Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 177.

for defence of the towne, that in me laye, and my duety required; where I fynde both the Mayor, Majestrats, and comonalty so willing and ready in the Quenes Majesty our Soverayns behalf, as it wold do a man good to see them so fyrme and true, readye to spend ther lyves than to yeld to any rebell, what soever they be. And nowe they have obteynyd to have my cumpany, which is the fyfty men that I have charge of, under the Quenes highness, at Barwyk, to come hither unto me; where, yff any attempt be, as it is lokyd for, I trust in God to showe myself, as my duety requirethe, a true sodyer and servante to her Majesty, whiles my lyfe endureth. Newcastle, 21 Nov. 1569.—*MS. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 22nd Nov.

Good Sr. George,—I have written to the Warden of the Middle Marches and Este Marches, to levy three, four, or five hundred horsemen, as they may be spared from the service there.

I have written, also, the like to th Earle of Comberland, the Warden of the West Marches, and the L. Wharton; and that both forces shall come to you, to Barny Castell. And, therefore, I pray you, use diligence in sending to know the certen day when ether company shall be at Barney Castell, and advertise me with spede.

And if any of the horsemen I wrote for, in my former letters, be come to you, or do come soon, I pray you, if the way be suer, send them hether with spede, and tary your selfe for the rest; for I might do great service if I had horsemen sufficient. And, so sone as the rest shall come to you, come away with them, with all the horsemen and fotmen you can make besides.

And so I bid you hartely well to fare. From York, the xxiith of Novemb. 1569. Your assured frend,

T. Sussex.

I praye you send the letters to the Wardens of the Este and Myddell Marches, and lett your man bryng you

answer what daye the horsemen shall be with you;* and you shall do well to send on to my L. of Combreland, to bryng you lyke answer from these, and advertyse me.—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p.* 9.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 22nd Nov.

Good Sr. George,—I have staied your servante hetherto, for that I thoughte I shold have geven you certen knowlege whether the Earles intended to goo forwards, or to retorne; and, finding they hange in suspense at Wetherby, I thought good to stay him no longer.

I hope to heare shortly that my L. of Comberland, and my L. Wharton, and Sir John Fosters men, be come to you; and, therfore, I pray you, to have good spiall upon the Earles, and, if they staye, where they be. I pray you, after those horsemen be come to you, make all the haste hether you may with them, and all the rest of the horsemen you can get; and come abowt by Newborogh, and under the More side; and leave your fotemen under the charge of some fotemen in Barney Castel. And if the Earles passe Tadcaster, then I pray you leave the Castell sufficiently defended, and set forwards, with horsmen and fotmen together, and come hether, with all the force you can make; for, if I had you, with those bands of horsemen that be with you, and be to come to you, and the fotmen you can make in those parts, I wolde surely fight with them, and so wolde I do, if I had but the horsemen. And, therefore, good Sir George, haste you hether all you may; and bring the force with you as is above written. I have delivered to this berer fifty pounds, and God send it to come well to you. The Q. Majestie doth provide a force

* On the 20th, the Council at York write to the Queen, that the levies "come in slackly.—The people like so well of ther cawse of religion, as they do flock to them, in all places where they come; and many gentlemen shewe them selfs ready to serve your Majestie, whose sons and heirs, or other sons, be on the other side.—The outlawes of Tynedale and Ridesdale be come to them.—We perceive they intende still to goo forwards."—*State Papers.*

in the Sowthe. All other matters here, your servant can declare, by his hearing and sight; and so I bid you hartely well to fare. From York, the xxiith of Novemb. 1569.

Your assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Orig. Bowes MS. No. X. Vol. 1. *A rough draft, in the hand writing of Lord Sussex.— Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 334.

Sir G. Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 23rd Nov.

My humble dutye remembryd: pleaseth your good L. to be advertysed that I have receyved by my servant, Thomas Dand, letters dyrected to th Erle of Cumberland, L. Wharton, Sir John Foster, and William Drewrye; which letters, dyrected to the Erle of Cumberland, and L. Wharton, I send away with other letters from my selfe. Wherin I dyd desyre to knowe when I myghte accompte to have such horsemen as your L. had wrytten for, taking acknowledgemente that your L. had so appoynted me for the more spede; and to hasten them, I sent a gentleman with credens to bothe [of] them, whose answere ys suche, that I can make noo certeyne accompte when to looke eyther for the horsemen to come from th Erle of Comberland, or that the L. Wharton meaneth to be from hys owne howse; as your L. shall the better perceive, by a letter thys day receyved from the L. Wharton, herewith sent. And for the other letters, I sent also to Newcastle; but as yet hereth nothinge frome Sir John Foster, but dowteth that he will send smawle ayde: for I here, of trewthe, that Alnewycke Castell ys in vytayllinge by the Erle of Northumberlands meanes, which maye be some cawse that he wyll lacke noo parte of hys force. And here, more then ys my owne, and suche my frends, as I trust as my selfe, there ys lyttell accompte to be made; for beinge at our musters to daye, save, there came some good numbers of Gyllinge Weste; the reste was not two hundred men, of all sorts, horse and foote; so, that, besyds my owne tenants,

and a choyse of thys the Quenes Majesties L. of Barnard Castell. I have none other wayes than shall appeare in a breyffe.* And daylye the people flee from theys parts to th Erles; and knowe not what shulde be done to staye [them,] for I have notefyed their unloyall and rebellious dealings, and with fayre speche and bestowinge of money, used those that came in the most gentle manner I coulde. But yt avayleth nothinge, for they styll steale after them, and anythinge moveth them, as they saye, becawse in our fyrst precepte, accordinge to our commyssyon, we dyd appoynt the two hundred fotemen, meyt to have bene levyed, to to have had such preparacon of moneye, as by the commyssyon was appoynted; but in all our precepts sence, we never spoke of yt, but noo dowte thys ys that, that undothe theys parts. In all the fyve wapentacks in Rychmondshyre, the baylyffes be in the leveraye of th Erle of Northumberland, and perswads the people to followe there offycers; and, as yt ys thought, some of theys baylyffes, or such lyke people, resteth everye where in theyse parts of Rychmondshyre. And the Byshopbrige ys in a worse staye then theye, for they be in [a] manner all gone, and goeth daylye; wherfore I wolde be gladd to knowe

* A note, made the xxiiith of Nov. Eliz. xii, of all the horsemen at Barnard Castle, to serve the Quenes Majestie. Spears, Bows, and Harquebusses.

	Sp.	*Bo.*	*H.*
Sir George Bowes	50	40	0
John Conyers	6	8	0
Robert Bowes	12	8	4
Christ. Rokeby	4	2	0
Marmad. Vyncent	4	4	0
Christ. Wyvell	1	1	0
John Sayre	1	5	0
William Wyclyffe	1	1	0
Anth. Kattericke	1	1	0
John Wytham	1	1	0
Christ. Wandisford	1	1	0
John Blaixton	4	0	0
Robert Bowes	1	0	0
Bertram Anderson	1	0	0
John Hedworth	0	1	0
Nich. Girlington	1	3	0
Nynyan Girlington	1	1	0
Raphe Taylboise	2	1	1
Thomas Calverley	2	0	0
Richard Clarvax	2	2	0
John Laysenbye	1	1	2
Roger Burghe	1	1	0
John Doddesworthe	1	1	0
John Doddesworthe	1	0	0
William Grant	1	0	0
Robert Byerley	1	0	0
Christ. Askwithe	1	0	0
Robert Askwithe	1	0	0
Raphe Croft	0	1	0
Edward Toppam	0	1	0
Total	104	85	7

—*Bowes MS. Vol. XIII. p.* 6.

what ys to be done with those that goethe towards them, or such as returnethe for provysyon of suche as remayneth. Manye be not gone, that yet [con]sealeth them in wodds, and other places, and will not come before me, for anye precepte or commandemente; and th Erles hathe caused twoo or three lewed fellowes, of theirs, to proclayme me a trator and herytyke. But nowe to our stayte here: by our musters to daye, which we have appoynted for the three hundred footemen, besydes theyes of my owne, which ys two hundred footmen, and we hope, to-morowe, to be in the Byshopbrige two or three hundred footemen; but theys are not to be holden together without moneye, for we dare not otherwayes deale, but with fayre speche, lest we shuld send theys after the reste. And they crye out for moneye, beynge seduced upon reports of suche rumors as the others putteth abrode, that noo man shall have anye wages, bnt shall lye of hys owne charges, which Rychmondshyre hathe not bene accnstomed to doy; and here ys noo helpe in theys parts without your L. expresse commandemente. For the receyvors be goone out of the contrethe with a good some of moneye, and I have [endeavoured] to borowe of the receyptts of the Byshoppe of Durham, but I thynke hys receyvor hathe better mynde to bestowe yt of others, than suche as servethe her Majestie dewty fullye. Althoughe the Byshopes cheyfe offycers hathe earnestlye desyred the receyvers to helpe me, yet can I gett none, soo that I am utterlye destytute; havinge lente that lyttle that I hadd, to suche my frends as with myselfe nedethe. All things are here out of order, and my dealings and good wyll can not amende yt; yet shall I not sease, to the best that I maye, for the settinge furthe of hyr highness servyce. But your L. shall perceyve the good mynds of manye, by their leberall settinge furthe of men, and but that I take muche in hand, lyttell wolde be doyne; as indede there ys nothinge done, which moveth me humblye to desyre that I maye be called to your L. where I truste nowe the beste servyce ys to be done. And sewerlye for that number I have, they be both

well horsed, armed, and appointed, and for there dewties I dare pledge my owne lyfe: but I meane not nowe, for all your L. wysdome may consyder, the lacke where yt ys.

I have appoynted to be at Rychmond upon Frydaye, at nyght, yf I be not countermyndytt by your L. or some some other cawse; as there maye appeare more danger then servyce, and yett there ys noo truste to be geven to that towne, as well becawse of the open entrees into yt, as the uncerteyne mynds of the people; there being onlye [prevented] frome followinge of th Erles, by the honeste and grave dealinge of one man. And becawse I shall by my abode there both hassarde myselfe, and the people with me; I doo, therefore, humblye desyre to be spedelye advertysed of your Lordships pleasure; humblye cravinge of your L. to lycens me to come unto yowe: or yf your L. thinke my absence maye be for the settynge forthe of hyr majesties servyce, then command, and yt shal be fulfylled; or yt shal be well knowen yf I fayle, yt shal be longe of lacke of force, and not of dewtyfulnes. I have longe loked for the returne of Smythson my servant, which even nowe entered my chamber savelye; and I have now agayne the doble I sent at hys goynge furthe, soo that yett I have noo interceptyon. Noo dowte I kepe as good spyall as I can, but not soo goode, I feare, as theye have of me; for I am therebye watched. But yf yt please your L. to have me, and call me sodenlye, and appoynt me to bringe with me thees that maketh the smale nombers, for they are better absente then here, and there presens myght bothe be greate comforthe to the people, ennymyes rather then ....and they beinge here can doye noo good: some of them, with thys lyttle payne,* ys soo sycke, that they can hardlye be holden here, and there sons elswhere. In the tyme of the wrytinge herof, I am advertysed, that sundrye of the welthyeste sorte of Rychmond ys departed towards the Erles, upon hearinge that I was to come to the Towne; and sewer all wolde goye, yf one honeste man, named Mylner,† stayed not. Upon knowledge of the passage

* Campaign. † Richard Mylner was the senior Bayliff in 1568 and 1569.

forward of the Erles, I wyll sewer make haste to your L. for sewer I wyshe myselfe with yowe. And, thus, restinge redye as your Lordships dyrections shall come, to followe as power wyll serve, I take my leave. Frome Streytlam, the xxiiith of Nov. at mydnyght.

I dowte not but your Lordship herethe of the takinge of Hussye,* and howe the Dacres† hathe taken the Quenes howses in Cumberland, and Northumberland, that were apperteynyng there layte nephewe.—*Imperfect Copy, Bowes M. S. Vol. II. p.* 9.

The Earl of Sussex writes to the Queen, on the 24th Nov.—that he did "forbear, for two days, to write, for fear of intercepting."—That the rebels be "now gone to Knaresboro. I have written to Westmoreland and Cumberland for five hundred horsemen, and into Northumberland for other five hundred, if they may be spared from the service there; or els, for so many as may be spared, and to join with Sir George Bowes, at Barney Castell."—He, says he, has two thousand five hundred fotemen at York, and has sent for eight hundred more. "I have sent two hundred men to Hartelpole, and other two hundred to the place‡ your Majestie commanded to be loked to, by your letters of the

* Of Topcliff, Esq.: was said to be actively concerned in promoting the rebellion. He was employed as a messenger between the Earls and the Spanish Ambassador. *(Murdin, p.* 31.*)* He was taken prisoner in the wardenry of Lord Scroop, who requests Cecil (30th Nov.) that George Lamplughe may receive thanks for his apprehension. The Queen orders him to be brought "to her court, safely, a prisoner;" and Lord Sussex (18th Dec. 1569) directs Mr. Laurence Meeres, onè of the Couucil of the North, to take him "in suche sorte as no person have any conference with him."—*State Papers.* He was indicted for the "conspiracy of treason;" and though he is not named in the act for the confirmation of the attainders, yet he appears to have suffered confiscation of goods. He remained a prisoner in the Tower for some years; and, by a note in the Privy Council Book (1575) it is stated that he had been condemned, and had received a pardon under the Great Seal. In Jan. 1573, a grant of the Manors of Sigeston, Carlton, &c. late parcel of Thomas Hussey's lands, *attainted,* was made to John Lamplengh and his heirs in fee farm.—*Privy Seal Records.* See *Sadler. Vol. II. p.* 193, where he is said to have been indicted, but not attainted.

† See Appendix, for a notice respecting Leonard Dacres.

‡ Holy Island.

xvith, which my L. of Hunsdon sent by the post. Sir Thomas Gargrave* is at Pomfret, and hath fortified the passage at Feribridg. Ether of the Earles have secretly sent messengers to me; and I have delt with ether of them, a parte: and loke to here further from them to morrow, wherin it may please your Majestie to have in remembrance what you wrote, about the middest of your letters of the xviiith."—*State Papers.*

Nov. xxiiiith. State of all matters at the coming of Lord Hunsdon† and Sir Ralph Sadler.—"There be assembled 2500 fotemen—about 500 horsemen—the rebells be thought to be

* Of Wakefield, one of the Council of the North, and Vice-President, when the Earl of Sussex was absent, in 1570. He was Speaker of theHouse of Commons in the first Parliament of Elizabeth.—High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, in 1569, in consequence of the illness of Sir Henry Gates; and he appears to have been a vigilant soldier and an active magistrate. He held Pontefract Castle during the rebellion (*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 37); and writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury from thence, on the 25th, from which letter the following are extracts:—"Yestr nyght the twoo Erles returned to Burobrigg, and callyd backe al ther compenys; and required them to repair from thens towards the forest of Galtres, as though they wold go to York, on the farr syde of Owse. They perswayde theyr solders to adventure to wyne York, wher they may have gaine, and have lyen the winter; and say, yf they atteyne York all ys theirs, and yf they mysse yt, yt were better for them to dye lyke men, then to be hanged. I fere not York; it is stronge enoghe to repulse them. They mynded to have seized this house, and to have wyntred here, and at Wakefield, and at Doncaster, yf they could have gotten them all. The only lack I fere here, ys money and gonne powder, whereof I wold gladly have helpe, for I cannot get any from York. Ther comyth to serve the Quenes Majesty a thousand light horsemen, from the fronteyrs, towards Scotland, and four hundred harquebusses; and ther comyth, also, from the Southe, five hundred light harquebusses, and other munycon, which I loke for to be here, and to be conveyed to York, within four or five days; and, when the provision comyth, I trust ther will be a short ende of the rebellyon."—*Orig. Talbot MS. Herald's Col. Vol. E. p.* 233.

† Henry Carey, the Queen's nearest relative, being son of her mother's sister. He was created Baron of Hunsdon, in the first year of her reign. In 1567 (says *Lodge, Vol. II. p.* 33) he was appointed Warden of the East Marches and Governor of Berwick. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he was sent to take charge of Newcastle and Northumberland, as well as Berwick. (see *Haynes, Vol. I. p.* 375, under 1561, instead of 1569.) On the 20th Nov. at midnight, he writes to Cecil from Doncaster, "by reson of long tarrying for horses by the way, and the extreme fowle wayse, yt ys this Sunday night before I could reache this towne of Dunkaster; where I find Lord Darcy, who, beynge as far as Pumfret onward towards Yorke, was fayne to

at the least 1000 horsemen well appointed. And for that the horsemen and footmen that assembled for the Quenes Majestie, be farre lesse in number, then the horse and footmen of the rebells; and that the cawse is great and dangerous to suffer any repulse or overthrow, it was ment, by devises, to putt of tyme untill the men, armor, and munícon wold come, and then, with the hole force, to fyghte upon the advantage. And it was thought that the rebells (the tyme of the year considered) shold in the meane tyme, wery ther company, decrease ther force, growe to spoile, and bring themselves into hatred; and, therfore, better to protracte tyme, with some expences of money, and to have a manifest apparance, by all probable reasons, of an assured victorie: then by making of any more haste, to venter so great a matter, with the smal number, worse furnished and perhaps not fully assured.—The rebells be retired from Wetherby, to Boroughbrig, and so back to the borders betwixt the North and East Ridings; therby, it apeareth they have no further intente forwards."—*State Papers.*

On the same day, the Queen issues her proclamation, from Windsor Castle, which appears at large in *Strype, Vol. I. p.* 548, in which she gives an account of the progress of the rebellion, and of the conduct of the Earls, of whom she says:—"But as to the reformation of any great matters, they were as ill chosen two persons, if their qualities were considered to have credit, as could be in the whole realm; for they were both in poverty: one

returne hythar, for feare of beyng taken; for yesterday nyght, one Mr. Tempest, having the caryage of one hundred and fifty men to Yorke, being in Todcaster, was taken, and all his soldyers, by the rebells."—*State Papers.* On the 23rd, he was at Hull, and came to York on the following day with Sir Ralph Sadler, (*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 42) and remained with Lord Sussex during the rebellion. He totally defeated Leonard Dacres in February following. (See Appendix.) He filled the high office of Lord Chamberlain, and had the charge of the Queen's person at Tilbury. He appears to have enjoyed the constant esteem and confidence of his Sovereign. He was appointed Keeper of Somerset Place, 31st July, 16th Eliz. (*Privy Seal Records*) where he died, 23rd July, 1596, aged 71, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

having but a very small portion of that which his ancestors had left, and the other having wasted, almost, his whole patrimony." That "the said Earls, contrary to the natural property of nobility, which was instituted to defend the prince, being the head, and to preserve peace, had most openly, ond treacherously entered into rebellion." &c.—They are therefore, with their associates, declared "rebels and traitors:" and so to be taken and used.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 25th Nov.

Good Sr. George,—You shall receive, herewith, letters to Sr. John Foster, th effecte wherof, is to hasten away the horsemen I wrote for, before, in my former letters: and also to Mr. Drury, to send three hundred shott from Barwick; by which tyme I trust the horsemen wil be come from Comberland and Westmerland, and five hundred harquebuziers from London; and when you shall have that force assembled there, and I shall have the force I loke for here, then I will appointe our metinge place; and, therefore, I pray you write to Sir John Foster and Mr. Drury, that you may knowe the certen day that those horsemen and fotemen shall be at Barny Castell, and advertise me therof by sondry messengers (least some of them be intercepted;) and therupon you shall knowe what to do further.

The rebells be come to the forest side. My L. of Hunsdon is come hether to passe to Barwick and Newcastell; but findinge Newcastell provided for, and the way dangerouse, and that the Barwick men may be broughte hither by his letters, he will remaine still here.

Sir Raulfe Sadler* came also yesternight. You shall

* Sir Ralph Sadler, a sage and experienced counsellor, in whom the Queen placed the greatest confidence, was sent ostensibly to take charge of the young Earl of Rutland; but evidently to watch the proceedings of the Earl of Sussex, whose friendship for the Duke of Norfolk excited the Queen's suspicions. The Queen, in her letter to Lord Sussex, describes him as "one, that for the long and often services, of great charge and im-

have money when wee mete, or may be conveyed with saulftie. Other matter I have not, at this time. And so I wissh to you as to myselfe. From York,* the xxvth of November, 1569. Yr. assured friend,

T. Sussex.

Original, Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 2.

Sir John Forster writes, from Bambrough, to Sir George Bowes, 25th Nov.—"I have receyved your letter for the horsemen, that my L. Levetenant wrote to me to have sent to yowe: to whome I have wrytten that they are not to be had at this present. I dare not send any of them of Ryddesdale and Tynedale, for they are not to be trusted; and for any others lyenge upon the fronteeres, they cannot be spared: for the Earles have soo practised with the evyll men of England and Scotland, to break the Borders and

portance, wherein he hath byn imployed in those North partes, in the tyme both of our father and brother of good memorie, is of good experience that wayes, wee do veryley beleve that he shall be no smale comforte and ease unto you."—*(Haynes, p.* 558.*)* He writes to the Council, from Burton Stather, 23rd Nov. at 6 at night, that he met in that village Mr. Rowe, one of the Queen's auditors, who had been the day before in York with Lord Sussex, who had not more than two thousand men, whereof "not past three hundred horsemen;" that his Lordship intends "to kepe the Towne, not being able to meete the rebells."—Mr. Rowe further says, "my Lord of Sussex hath no gret trust in some of his company; and that victualls were scant in York, and, the rebells being masters of the feeld, it will be hard to be victualled".—This account he afterwards qualifies in a letter to Cecil of the 26th, wherein he says, "I mette with a ferefull man, at a towne called Burton Stather, Mr. Rowe, whose informacon, which I believed, because he cam then dyrectley from Yorke, I wrote to my Lords of the Councell."—He arrived at York on the 24th, from Hull, accompanied by Lord Hunsdon, *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 41) and remained with Lord Sussex during the rebellion.—The valuable collection of state papers and letters, edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq. known by the name of *Sadler's State Papers,* becomes almost a text book to the reader of these memorials; and, together, furnish a more detailed history of the rebellion than any which has yet appeared.

* On this day, the Corporation inhonour of their distinguished visitors, agree,—"That the Right Honorable the Lord of Hunsdon and Sir Raph Sadler, twoo of the Quenes Majesties Pryvay Counsell, shal be presented with mayn bread, ypocras, and a ioll of fresh sturgeon, to the value of xls. of the Chambre chardge, and to be sent by the Chambrelanes and Sword-bearer."—*Corporation Records, York.*

sett all in disorder, as I had more nede to have men, and not to send any owte of the countrye. I wolde have sente of my nowne frends to you, for a tyme; but my lyfe ys so dalye soughte, by the practyse of the Erles, bothe by some of England and Scotland, as I cannot spare them from me. The Earles have made offer of xvid. a day. If men were to be spared, they will not [go] out of the countrye, except they have prest money,* order for their charges; and soo I byd you hartelye fayrewell. I wishe to God that that daye you shall nede, that I and my frends were with my Lord Levetenant and yowe; to bestowe our lyves in her Majestys quarrell, against hyr ennymyes.—*MS. Calig. B. IX.* 360.

Sir John also writes to Secretary Cecil: "if you will have the howse (Alnwick Castle) taken for her Majestie, I truste to get it without great charge to her Majestie; but when it is had, it must be kept with me."—*State Papers.*

On the same day, the young Earl of Rutland, (Edward Manners) being desirous to serve, and Thomas Cecil, (eldest son of Sir William, and afterwards Earl of Exeter) who was commanded, by his father, to attend on the Earl, arrived at York.—*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 34.

Lord Scroop† to Sir George Bowes, 26th Nov.

"After my hearty commendations.—Since the dispatch of your man, I have, this morning, received letters from my Lord of Cumberland, with others, therewith, from my

* Money lent for an outfit. "He gave the nobles in *prest* to the knyghtes; for he knew well that otherwise he should not have them come out of their houses."—*Froissart.*

† Henry Lord Scroop, of Bolton; appointed Governor of Carlisle, and Warden of the West Marches, 6th April, 5th Eliz. *(Original Grants.)* He married Margaret, third daughter of Henry Lord Surrey, sister to the Duke of Norfolk and to the Countess of Westmoreland, a connection which naturally subjected him to the suspicions of the Court: yet he appears to have conducted himself with fidelity to the Queen. He was appointed Steward of Richmond, 24th Nov. 13th Eliz. and received the Order of the Garter.

Lord Lieutenant, directed to my Lord of Cumberland,* and the Lord Wharton:† in demand, to send from hence to Barnard Castle, three or four hundred light horsemen; yf so were that we thought these two counties might spare the same. And for that, the letters are to us all three addressed, and by us all to be considered of; I have, presently, for the execution of the same, written to the Earl of Cumberland, and the Lord Wharton, praying [them] to meet me

* Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland. His first wife was Eleanor Brandon, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, the French Queen, daughter of Henry VII. after whose death he is said to have visited Court only three times—the coronation of Queen Mary, the marriage of his daughter to the Earl of Derby, and to visit Queen Elizabeth soon after her accession. The Queen wrote the most pressing letters to him, to use his best exertions to raise men *(Haynes,* 553, 570*)*; and, in her last letter of the 7th Dec. she fears his infirmity may not permit him to take any "vehement travaile abrode." Sir George writes to him on the 20th Nov. for one hundred horsemen; and, amongst other pressing letters, the following may be quoted, of the 27th Nov. when the danger to Barnard Castle became more imminent:—"My humble dewtye premysed: pleaseth your good L. to be advertysed, that I have receyved your Lo. letters, which ye desyre to be conveyed to the L. Levetenante, which shal be soo done, by Gods grace, in savetye; or spoyled yf there be lykelehead of there takynge, which, I truste in God, shall not be; for I have everye twoo dayes sent letters, and as yet none myscarryed, I thanke God. I wyshe your L. horsemen were here, for I feare very greatlye that yf they come not thys nyght, they shal be cutt from me, wherefore I humblye desyre your L. to hasten them."—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 51, *Copy.*

His infirmities prevented him from taking any active share in the contest. He scarcely survived the rebellion; and died early in January, 1569–70, at Brougham Castle.

† Thomas, second Lord Wharton, of Wharton, Co. Westmoreland. He writes to the Earl of Sussex on the 24th, that he has received his letter of the 18th Nov. to desire him, with his force of horsemen, to be at Richmond or Barnard Castle at such time as may be fixed with Sir G. Bowes. He says, that his tenants in Westmoreland are utterly destitute of horses, armour, and weapons, and have always served as footmen; that he is not able to make twenty able horsemen; and that he has lately "learned of the Dacres, and of their malicious intents;" and humbly beseeches his L. to pardon his "setting forward in this sudden sort, being environed with malicious enemies bent to do me great displeasure. I am not in suche state either in my person or otherwise, as I wish to be, and to serve her highness as my heart desireth," wishing a commission to levy such force as shall be fit, as he has no more than his own household servants.

"From my house at Wharton, 24th Nov. midnight.—I have desired Sir George Bowes to convey this letter to your Lordship, for that my men have so ill fortune to pass the danger of the enemy."—*Calig, B. IX.* 363.

to-morrow, at Plumpton Wall: where if we shall agree, and think meet to send forth any number, the present state hear consydered, you shall receive, immediately, advertisement of our determination, and what nomber you shall be assured of; and in the mean season, I think it very good, and do pray you to advertise me where we shall have conduct money for such as shall be appointed, and to what place, for otherwise, men will be loth to go forward, and indeade are not able. Carlysle."—*MS. Calig. B. IX.* 335.

Sir Ralph Sadler writes his first letter to the Queen from York, on the 26th November *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 41*)* in which he states his arrival on the 24th. and that the Earl of Sussex said, "that of all the benefits which ever he did, or shall receyve at your highnes hands; he doth accompte this for one of the greatest, in that it pleased your Majestie to send me to him in this sort, and in this tyme." He declares that Lord Sussex is "a trew and faithful servant," and that he would not have suffered the rebells to keep the field, if he had force sufficient to prevent them.—The forces at York he states at 2500 footmen, and 500 horsemen; and he hears the rebels are about 6000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, well appointed. He says, the Earl of Sussex is not without "doubt and suspicion" of the gentlemen of this country. "But yet nothing more grevous unto him, then the trayterous deling, with him, of Egremont Ratclif."* He praises the prudence and circumspec-

* Younger brother, of the half-bood, to the Earl of Sussex. He joined the standard of the rebels at Brancepath. He must have left York before the Earls' proclamation of the 18th Nov. in which he is denounced as a rebel. This untoward desertion would naturally encrease the suspicion and distrust of the Queen towards the Earl of Sussex. Sadler says, (*Vol. II p.* 43) that "nothing is more grevious to him (the Earl) than the traiterous dealing with him of Egremont Ratclif, with the circumstances whereof I will not trouble your Majesty now in writing; but surely my Lordship taketh it so to heart, that I dare presume, on my fidelity, that if he fall into his hands he will be revenged on him in such sort, as the world shall see how much he abhorreth the traiterous doings of an unnatural brother."

Thomas Jenny in his confession, says, that three miles from Topcliffe he met with Mr. Ratcliffe, with whom he argued touching his departure. Ratcliffe

tion of the Earl of Sussex; who has given order for reinforcements from Berwick, and out of Northumberland: and trusts some relief of horsemen will come from the south; and also, "most necessary it is" to have money, with speed, for the charges of the army.

shewing him a small ring of gold the Earl of Westmoreland had sent him, "upon condicons and promises he would *be to hym as to hymselfe in all his fortunes.*" He remained with the Earls during the rebellion, and was afterwards received at Branxholm. The Queen was very anxious for his apprehension. Lord Scroop writes to Cecil, 30th Dec. 1569, "For the apprehension of Agremont Ratcliff, I shall do my deligence."—*State Papers.* Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil from Berwick, 17th March 1569–70, "Egremont Ratcliff, Jenny, and the Patryarck, with others of the rebellion, are prepared of a shypp to passe into Flanders."—*State Papers.* And again, on the 1st April, "Eg. Ratcliff, Genny, the Patryarck, and sum others havyng some ynkling of my preparations for them, are sent by my Lord Heaum to Orkney, to be conveyed into Flanders, that way by Capten Logen; to whom he gave £40 sterling, to pay for ther vyttail."

In 1571 he was at Liege. He was at Madrid in 1572 (*Murdin, p.* 243); and went towards France in May, 1574, receiving money from the King of Spain. He writes to Lord Burghley, from Bruges, 18th Aug. 1574, to solicit pardon; attributing his former errors to the effect of "ygnorant youth." *Original, Lansdowne MS.* 19, 35. He writes again on the 4th Dec. 1574, from Brussells, that, not receiving any comfort since his last letter of humble repentance, "I have therfore takene occasion to write again to her Majestie and to your Lo.; and I have desired Mastar Doctor Wilsons furtherance therin. I truste your Lo. will, as my especiall hope is in your Lo. undertake to procure me mercie at her Majesties handes: and, sithence, in bothe my othar letters to your Lo. which I sent by Avery Phillips, I spake largelye of th entire affection and desire I have to repaire my faulte; so doe I hope your Lo. sees so fare into me, as at this time my sewts shall not retorne emtye handed. I beseche your Lo. most vehementlye and bowldlye, to thinke one me; and if your Lo. finde (as I fere) my Lord, my brother repugne at it, it will please you to excuse me, so far forthe as a yonge mans first faulte, for which the gates of reconciliation is not clene to be cutt awaye; and asseure so far for me againe, as in all occcasions, I am redye to retorne his Lordships satisfaction. And thus humblye trustinge of your Lo. resolution here in, I moste humbly take my leave."—*Original, State Papers.*

He writes again, to "Lord Borle," from Bruges, 16th Feb. 1574–5, "I have beine so longe withoute ether entertainement or othar relief, I had spent all I had, and indetted myself so fare, as I was not able to abide it any longare; but must be forced to take, wher I have been prayed, and yet have refused."—*State Papers.*

Strype (*Vol. I. p.* 495) says, he was at Calais in 1575, and in the Tower in April and May, 1577; from whence he writes most "piteous" letters to Lord Burghley, expressing his "remorse and contrition" for his offence, and entreating him to supplicate the Queen's compassion and clemency. The

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 26th Nov.

Sir,—By the Quenes Majesties letters of the xviiith, her pleasure is signified, that I shold advertis, who were the principall persons that accompanied th Earles in ther owtragiowse doinges at Duresm; what nomber of men they were at that tyme, how the townesmen allowed or misliked of ther doinges, whether any resistance was made against them, what were the matters offensive to her Majestie,

Queen was, however, inexorable; though he was permitted to quit the kingdom. *(See also Nare's Memoirs of Lord Burghley, Vol. III. p. 88.)* He is named in some letters from Spain as receiving a pension from King Phillip; and Strype adds, that having entered the service of Don John of Austria, on some accusation, that he and others intended to murder the said Governor of Flanders, he was executed at Namur, in 1578.—So also the author of the "State of the English Fugitives in Spain," who says, that his head was "stricken off in the market place of Namur."—Cambden *(p. 226, Hist. of Elizabeth)* calls him "a man of turbulent spirit;" and says, the Spaniards gave out, that he confessed he was set at liberty from the Tower purposely, and encouraged by Sir Francis Walsingham to murder Don John.

Sir Francis writes to Will. Davison, her Majesty's agent in the Low Countries, 10th Jan. 1578–9:—"Finding, as well by your letters, as by others, that Egremont Ratcliffe should be laitly executed at Namours: who, as it is sayde, before his deathe confessed that he should be sent over from hence, by some one of the Councell, to kill Don John; for as much as I understand that the said Councellor should be myselfe, being lothe to have so villanous a slaunder geven out against me, I have written the enclosed to the Emperors Ambassador, praying him to procure me the copy of Egremonds confession, which letter I shal desire you may be conveyed with all convenient speed. Besides, I pray you to use all the meanes you cann yourselfe to recover the sayd confession, as also to learne what speaches he uttered at the tyme of his deathe; for, though by torture he might be drawen to utter an untrothe, yet cann I not thinke him so develishe, but that at the houre of his deathe he wolde revoke that which before he had untruely uttered. I praye you use some care and dilligence in this cause; for that I wolde be lothe that my poore creditte (which I holde more deare then my life) shoulde be longe subjecte to so villanous a slaunder."—*Original, State Papers.*

Davison, in his reply, dated xvith Jan. from Gand, says, "I will use the best diligence I can to recover yt for your honor."

His death is commemorated in a ditty of twenty-two verses *(Cotton MS. Vesp. A. 25)* entitled "A ballet of the deathe of Ratlyffe, which rose with the Earle of Northumberland, Lord Pearse, which he maide a lytle before he was handged," of which one verse will be more than sufficient:—

"My wedded wiffe, full dere to me,
To God I do comende;
And to my frends, most hertilye,
Most herty thanks I sende."

wherin the Earles first entered and were perswaded were not perillowse to them, and who were ther councellours and drawers on to these outragiowse doinges.

The evill counsellours be the persons named in my letters to her Majestie, of the 30th of October: and all were present at ther owtragiowse doinges at Duresme, saving Leonard Dacres, Roberte Bowes,* and Capten Reade.

The cawses motive, as I take them, be also declared in the same letters.

The nomber, as I am informed, was 500 horsemen, well appointed, besides all the contrey therabowtes, redy at ther commandement.

Ther was no resistance made against them, that I heare of, nor any misliking of ther doinges.

The matters offensive wherin they first entred, and were, as I take it, perswaded not to be perillowse to them; were, as I think, some dealinges in those cawses motive further then lawfully they might: wherunto they were drawen by those counsellors. And being carried further then they knew of, were drawen on by degrees, to that you see; which I gather by thole cowrse of the cawse, and not by any other knowledge, that ether I harde of myself, or understode, by any other: which I assure you, apon my trewth, is all I can say in these matters. And so I committ you to the Almighty.—From Yorke, the 26th of November, 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

Original, State Papers. T. Sussex.

The Earl of Sussex writes to the Queen on the 26th,†

* The enumeration of Robert Bowes in the list of evil counsellors, is evidently a mistake. Robert Bowes, the Sheriff, brother to Sir George, was with him in Barnard Castle; and "little" Robert Bowes was employed on missions of confidence and secrecy; and was, on this very day, dispatched by Sir G. Bowes to Captain Drury, at Berwick, for three hundred harquebusiers, to repair to Barnard Castle.—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 44.

† On the same day, Lord Sussex writes to Cecill: —"Some, perhapps, for saving of money, and some for other respect, may wish more sped in

that he will, from henceforth, join with Lord Hunsdon and Sir R. Sadler, "in all advertisements," thanking her for sending Sir. R. Sadler, "whose wisdom and experience is greate in these partes, and whose uprighte dealinges have allwayes ben such, as every manne hath ben thought happie that mighte in any cawse have his assistance.

"And, considering what by information mighte be put into your Majesties head to conceive suspicion of my doinges, by reason of the great love I have borne to some in trouble there, and to those that rebell here; and of a wicked bastarde, taken for my brother, that is, of all other, a moste detestable rebell, in betrayinge of me, besides his treasons to your Majestie: I must, of all men livinge, thinke myselfe moste happie that it hath pleased your Majestie to send him hether (Sir R. Sadler) at this tyme, wherby he may loke into the bottome of all my doinges, from the beginninge, and informe your Majestie trewly, as he shall finde of them."—*State Papers.*

Lord Hunsdon to Sir W. Cecil, 26th Nov.

I wyll not troble ye with any dyscowrse of or dooyngs heare, or of the state of thys countrey, bycoos her Majestee ys fully advertysed of the partycularytys therof, yn a letter from my Lord Levetenant, Sir R. Sadler, and myselfe, whyche I am seure you shall nott be ignorant of; but thys muche I have thought goode too lett ye understand: that yf ever any man deservyd thanks or reward at her Majesties hands, yt ys th Erle of Sussex; for yf hys dyllygence and carfulness had not been gret, her Majestye had neyther had Yorke, nor Yorksher, at thys ower, att hyr devocyon or commandment. For, as by her Majesties sendyng for them, havyng gylty concyencys, they wer forcyd too take armes byfor theyr appoynted tyme: so beynge yn armes,

these matters; but I must say, *sat cito, si sat bene*, and better is the money spent that saveth the state from perill, then is the money kept, wherby, for lack of expence, the state may be in perill. And when my force is come together, you shall heare I will lose no tyme."—*State Papers.*

theyr only determynacyon was to surpryze thys towne,* wherby they had then had the hole shere att theyr commandment: for too resyst them withall, nott one pece of ordynance yn the towne, nor few or none of the towne but wer more addycted too the rebels then too the Queen. And for all the gentylmen, savyng a few of thys Est Rydynge, themselves remayne yn theyr howses, as newtars, but eythar theyr suns and ayers, or second suns, be with the rebels; yett, by hys dyllygence, he hath nott only made thys towne past surprysynge, but also hath browght the sodyars that liket well of the rebells, too thynk very yll of

* The corporation records of York abound with curious notices of the proceedings at York, for placing that town in a respectable state of defence. On the 9th Nov. the corporation agree, "with the *better* advese of the Lord President, for the safeguard and security of the Quenes Majesties citie of York," and make orders accordingly. On the 16th Nov. John Lutton, Esq. at Mace, "was directed to conduct 100 men to Darnton, at the citie charge;—to have xls. towards his chardge, and further allowans at his home comyng." This order was revoked; and Mr. Dawson, with one other honest person, was to conduct them to Darneton. On the 18th Nov. it is ordered, for the "more surety" of the city, that the keels and boats be kept within the city; and that the "fery-bot" be eyther "sonken, or otherwise kept by discretion of Mr. Beane;" and that the Wardens shall raise "a comon day work in bearyng of stones to the citie walles for defens."—On the same day, the Lord Lieutenant orders a levy of all the Queen's subjects within the Aynstie, "beyng hable men, as well horsemen as fotemen," to come to York; and he also directs the Lord Mayor, &c. to command all the Queen's subjects in the city of York, "upon the first warnyng, to attend upon him." On the 19th, the Mayor, &c. order the Wardens to bring all the "sties or ladders" from the suburbs into the city; and all the inhabitants of the suburbs are ordered to make their abode in the city "this troblesome tyme," to be ready to serve; and that "his honour" shall name the Captain of the city soldiers—namely, Mr. Robert Stapleton, Esquire. All pitch and tar is ordered to be taken forth of the streets, &c. On the 21st, earth or stone is directed to be raised against the posterns; and four shillings allowed for watching the "great gonnes" remaining the last night "upon Ouse." The Wardens are directed to "forsee, by their good policies," that no wheat, malt, nor victuall, want in their Wards. Lights are directed to be placed in the windows; and the Lord Lieutenant orders, that "whensoever any alarme shall happen within this citie, no manner of men, women, na children shall make any showtyng, crying, or noyse, but to kepe sylens."—The old "gonnes and ordenance" are ordered to be mended. On the 22nd Nov. Mr. John Ingleby is appointed "capitayn of the citie levy, of 100 men;" and a general muster is made of the men of the city of York, on the 24th Nov.

them, and too myslike theyr dooyngs, and too know that the rebells doo abeuse her Majesties name: for yn all theyr proclamacyons they use her Majesties name. I protest I wryght nott percyally, but as the troth ys, wherof I dought nott but hyr Majestie shal be advertysyd by othars. I wolde to Gode she knew all hys dooyngs yn thys matter, from the beynnynge, and then I dowght nott but she wolde regoyse yn so faythful and dyscrete an offycer. Bycawse Newcastell and Barwyk ar nott too be doughtyd, I have thowght goode to forbeare goynge thithar, beynge nothynge too doo theare; and too remayne heare, where servys ys too be dune, and too venter my lyf yn her servys, agenst those unnaturall subjects, and rank rebbels. I am sorry too heare of Westmerlands wylfulnes, who hathe refusyd eythar too heare or follow theyr advyse, that hathe for hys howse sake, wysht hym well. The othar ys very tymerus, and as yt ys affyrmde, hathe ment, twyse or thryse, too submytt hymselfe, but that hys wyfe beyng the stowter of the too, dothe hasten hym, and yncorage hym too persever, and rydes up and downe with theyr army, from place to place; so as the gray mare ys the better horse.—Th Erle of Northumberland hathe the kepyng of Myddleham, and steward of Rychmond, wherby he hathe nowe a grete part of hys force too serve agaynst the Queen. I have wrytten to my wyfe too be a suter too her Majestie, too bystow ytt upon me; nott for any proffytt that ys by havyng ytt, but bycawse, hereafter, her Majestie may be seure to be served with her own tenants, and nott too have theym, by an yll steward, serve agenst hyr: yn whych sense, I pray ye lett my wyfe have your help and furtherance; and so for thys tyme I leve too troble ye. Wyshing ye your helthe.—Yorke, 26 Nov.

On the 27th Nov. the Queen ordered the armorial ensigns of the Earl of Northumberland to be removed from his stall, as a Knight of the Garter; "that all other, by his example, for ever mor hereafter, beware how they

commit, or doe lyke cryme, or fall in lyke shame or rebuke."*—*Cotton MS. Vesp. C. XIV.*

On the 28th November, the Earl of Sussex, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler, write to the Council that the rebels are at Richmond. Lord Sussex expects to have to-morrow, or the next day, 4000 footmen.

Sir G. Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 29th Nov.

My bounden dewtye remembred: pleaseth yt your good Lordship to be advertysed, that I have stayed the longer frome wrytinge, because I hoped to have certyfyed your L. the tyme of the appoyntmente for beinge here of the horsemen and footemen to come owte of th Este and Myddle Marchess, and the horsemen to come owte of the Weste, and from th Erle of Cumberland; but, allthoughe for the better furtherance of the cawse, I sent a servant of my owne with credens to every place with those letters, which, I truste fullye, ys delyvered, as I am sewer they were in the Weste; yet am I not answered, otherwayes from the Weste, at anye hand, then shall appeare in the copye of the Lorde Scropes letter herwith sent. And for the Myddell and Easte, I have twoo servants there, by whome I make full accompte all things were delyvered, but nothinge ys returned, save apon your L. fyrst letter to Sir John Foster. I have receyved a letter in maner of answere, the copye wherof I also send herwith. I am everye where rownde abowte beleyn in manner of garrysons, and they make greate boyste to beseage me this daye, or

* Thirty-two years afterwards, the Queen made an exception in favour of the Earl of Essex. The French Ambassador, Mons. de Boissize, writes, June 26th, 1601:—"La Royne a voulu pardonner a la memoire du feu Comte d Essex. deffendant que les siennes fussent ostees aucunement que sil estoit mort de reputacion entier. Toute fois on ma dit que le Millord Burghley, ne sest peu tenu de les fouiller aux pieds."—*MS. Dispatches, King's Library, Paris.*

The arms of the Earl of Northumberland, impaling those of his wife, encircled by the Garter, still decorate a window in the old chapel at Petworth, inscribed Percy—Worcester.

to-morowe; but, by secryt advertysemente, I here, that they have taken Hartylpoyle,* and meaneth to fortyfye ytt, there

* Hartlepool is seated on a peninsula, nearly encircled by the sea, connected by a very narrow tongue with the mainland. Its fortifications were in ruins; and its importance had ceased with the Edwards. Nine years before the rebellion, the Duke of Norfolk writes to the Privy Council (1560, 23rd May) that "ther was certen Englishmen, that, about three weeks or a moneth past, were taken prisoners at Dunbar, which, upon their worde, returned hether for three or four dayes, who declared that the French had a *platt* of Hartelpole, where they minded to set men a land, and to fortify the place; which being done, they hooped to make York the bownes of England. This came out by an Italian, who is the fortifyer at Dunbar." On the breaking out of the rebellion, it was considered as a convenient place for receiving succours from the Duke of Alva, both by the Queen and by Cecil. The latter fears it will "brede some longer trouble;" and again, 3rd Nov. "I would gladly here more from you of Hertilpole." It was taken possession of by Christopher Nevill, on the part of the Earls; and, in a letter from Gregore Peacocke and John Fysche, to the Earl of Sussex, dated 18th Dec. at "Scardeburg," they state, that "immediately after our coming from York, we did pass from Scardburgh with one bark, with Sir Henry Percy, and did land him at Tynmouth, upon Friday next after; and, as we did pass by Hartilpole, we shot at them, and they at us; and, seeing the number, as we did, suppose of two hundred men.—On the 17th Dec. being of Hartlepole, we took a coble and three men, which was on fishing; they declared that there was two hundred soldiers there, being footmen, and one Stafford and ....., being captains of the said men; and that Mr. Nevill doth sometimes come and go thither with one hundred horsemen; and, as for shipping, there is none there, nor was not a great while, but four five-men cobles and sixteen small cobles. Desiring to know your Lordships pleasure what we shall do with the men of Hartillpull, for they are very poore, and hath almost *no clothes to their backes.*"—*MS. Calig, B. IX.*

Sir H. Gates took possession of it after the departure of the rebells. In a letter from Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler, to Cecil, dated 27th Dec. from Hexham, they say, "We understand, from Sir H. Gates and others that have taken the view of Hartlepole, that it is very ruynowse, and the walls downe in many places, and not gardable without a great force; and, in respecte wherof, we conceive it to be a superflouse charge to continue him there."—*State Papers.*

Lord Sussex went to view it, 17th Jan. 1569-70; and Sir R. Sadler adds a P.S. to his letter of the 18th Jan. dated Hartlepool (see *Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 143):—"My Lord Lieutenant cam hether yestr night, purposely to view this town. He is so carefull of his charge, and so desirous to see and know all things mete for his knowledge, that though he had caused sundry platts to be made of it, yet, because it hathe ben noted a matier of such moment, he cold not be satisfied till he had sene it, and now we are returning to Duresm."—*Orig. State Papers.* The opinion of Lord Sussex does not appear, but it was most likely unfavourable to its reparation, as it was afterwards neglected. *(See Sharp's Hartlepool.)*

expectinge ayde frome Kynge Phyllippe, and meaneth, in the meane tyme, to fortyfye yt; and have ships there to make awaye by, yf they be streaned by land. Thys place ys verye suspecyous, and sewerlye maye sone be made verye stronge, standinge of a plane flatt contreythe, dangerous to be approched, yf they be furnyshed with ordynance and munytion; and hard to be laid unto, for that their ys greate lacke of all things that shulde mayneteigne a wynter campe. Yt ys yett of noo force, but a downe thinge; and, therfore, yf yt be spedelye delte with, easalye to be had; which, with a lyttell sufferance, will after be harde to be gotten. They have certeyne ordenance in Branspeth, which ys, as the knowledger advertysed me, a fawcon and two slyngs (and noo other) which ys said shall come hether; and was yeasterdaye, beinge well carted, sett furthe at Bransbeth gayts, and a greate number of caryage horses prepared. They reporte to come thys waye, but I suppose to passe to Hartlepoyle, for here those things wyll stand them in noo steade. They have a greate number of fatt cattell that they have spoyled in theyr joyrneye, which they dryve to Derneton warde; and, as I am informed, meanethe to bestowe abowte Stocton, where they have fogge and haye, greate plentye, of the Byshoppe of Durhams and myne, and corne enewffe, of the Deanes and others harde by them; and the beste contrethe of corne joynethe to thoyse parts, of thys rever of Tees, of bothe syds: as of the one, Byllingham, Norton, and such lyke; and of the other syde, Cleveland, where Xpofer Nevell nowe ys, to provyde as ys aforesaid. And they meane to holde me shett with ther horsemen, cuttinge me frome vyttales, and to breake my mylls, all which lyethe a good waye from me, save one, which ys beyonde the ryver, but lyethe nye the Castell, and, therefore, I truste gardable; but I am indyfferentlye well provyded, thoo they tooke from me thirtie quarters of malte and a good portyon of wheate. By good intelligens then had, (as I feare) they everye day

come and offer scrymyshinge,* and beareth in oure scoute and scewryers; but we take noo [a] layrom, but kepethe close, for cawses [which] shall after be tolde to your Lordship. Sewer hayste ys requyred; for their ys moo made wormes than ys yett cropen owte of the shelles, which, by a spedye wynter, maye have their horns holden in. The Erle of Cumberland hath sent a good parte of the fyrste hundrethe horsemen, which came yeasterdaye; but theye be all archers of horsebacke, and but meanelye horsed. Our further stayte I commende to the reporte of the bearer, my servant; but the whole number here lyeth to be vyttelled of my provysyons onelye (for lacke of moneye) and yet moste of them verye well satysfyed, and plentye: and the soldyers vyttelled for three pence the male. I have, at the dyspatche herof, bothe newlye sent letters to th Erle of Cumberland and Lord Scrope, and also to the East and Myddle Marches: and sent to seke any men that passed thether; in whose returne I feare they be intercepted, eyther for feare thereof, taryethe at Newcastell. I have prisoner here, Lockwodde,† layte Secretary to th Erle of Westmerland, and twoo gentlemen of Wardell, taken goinge towards th Erles campe; and they have, of my servants, taken one conveyenge my corne, and some others, whose takinge I lyke not, nor thinketh well of. The general brewte here ys, they wyll besege me; but I am in noo feare. And there footmen ys fallen in there marche towards Darneton, which seamethe they rather wyll imploye them abowte Hartlepoyle, rather [than] to hasserde thys place. They have made greate spoyle here awaye; and layethe there garrysons to eate my corne, and others, most serviceable, beinge heare. And thus restinge well content to abyde all

* It seems very probable that the following lines, still current in the county, may have owed their origin to this invitation to skirmish, which Sir George thought prudent to decline:—

"Coward, a coward, of Barney Castell,
Dare not come out to fight the battell."

† Christopher Lockwood, of Sowerby, Esq. was indicted; but he does not appear in the list of attainders.

events, for that yt ys dewtyfull servyce to oure good Quene Elizabeth, whome God preserve, and then I passe for nothinge. I humblye take my leave. Frome Barnard Castell, the xxixth* of November, 1569.

Your Lordships wholly at commandment.

Soo ferre as I can learne, there footemen that ys nowe together excede not in all wheres twoo thowsand, and twelve hundred horsemen.

Since the writing hereof, my servant that went to Sir John Forster, ys returned, (but not he that went with the last letters), and there ys no hope of any horsemen from Sir John Forster; and, as yt appeareth by Mr. Drurys letter, he was not then commanded to make any, but yet hath the contrey yn a good readiness; so that I hope shortly to here from him. And sure three hundred trusty men, well horsed, with those I have, might here do great service yn keeping the rebells together, which now remaineth every where spoiling.—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 10, *Copy, without the last P. S. Original, Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 358 *; of which there is also a copy, having the addition of the last P. S.*

* Sir G. Bowes writes to Sir R. Sadler, on the 29th Nov.—" Yt maye please your honors olde acquaintance, and the great frendshippe fownd with you, hathe moved me, by dewtye, to wryte somethinge of our staite heare, which surely is dangerows, for manye respects, the certainties wherof at our meetinge, which God soone send, you shall knowe. For the doengs of thes Erles, I have advertised my knowledge to the L. Levetenant, which, I trust, he will imparte with you; and I have comanded this bearer to discusse to you the whole, wyshing that yf my service mighte do goode, I weare with yow, for heare I can do letle, for lacke of others helpe: which cometh slowlye forwards, and yet the tyme requyreth haist."—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 10, *Copy.*

He writes, at the same time, to Lord Hunsdon, that if he had such foot and horsemen as he wanted from him, he would " hold these *roisters* nearer together, to their more greife and good service of her Majestie, whom God preserve."—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 10, *Copy.* And he also writes to the Lords Cumberland and Scroop, to desire they will send their horsemen, as the rebels are in sight; that their horsemen are in great number, but their footmen are decreased—being only about 1200, which, he supposes, will be sent to Hartlepool to fortify it; and that Mr. Skayff is come, but without his whole number. *(Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 41.*)* A letter from Myles Skaif, from Kyrkby Stephen, 25th Nov. to Sir G. Bowes, states, that he is appointed, by Lord Cumberland, to lead 100 horsemen, and waits for his orders. *(Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 45.*)*

On the 30th Nov. Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cecil, that "the rebells are returned into the Bishoprick, but what purpose they holde, or what they intend to do, we can lerne no certentie: some say they will to Hertilpole, and seke to escape by the sea; and others say they meane to assaulte Sir George Bowes in Barnard Castle, and so to repaier into Tyndale and Ryddesdall, where they hope to be reinforced with the Scotts, such as be of the Quene of Scots faction. And also th Erle of Northumberland thinketh to have all, or the most parte of Northumberland at his devocon: for the which he hathe used great practise.* The gentlemen of this country, do now show themselves very willing and forwards in this service for the Quenes Majestie; but for all that, I cannot assure myself of such of them as be papist: for if the father come to us with x men, his soon goeth to the rebells with xx; and, therefore, gesse you what trust is to be reposed in such men."—He adds, that he is in "lack of money."—*State Papers.*

Lord Hunsdon writes at the same time, that "yesterday came hither Nicholas Errington, who came from Berwyk to my Lord Lt. and me, who was taken by the way, by the rebbels at North Allerton: and so caryed too Rychmund, too the Erle of Northumberland, where he was deteyned three days before he

* Of the Earl's power in Northumberland, Sir John Forster gives the following account, in a letter to Sir W. Cecil:—"My Lord of Northumberland hath in this contry, land of the yearly rent of 1000 pounds, whereof he hath many tenants, and as manye of them gyven to the evill as to the good; so as when they understand that suche as beares their dewtye and trewe service to her Majestie, ys the better partye, they cannc and will be obedient; but yf ther master should retorne, and enter with the evell contryes of England and Scotlande, they are not to be trusted. The comon people in this sodden *hurle* are dangerous to trust; and, therefore, yt were good her Majestie dyd forsee that such as will and dothe mynde to bestowe their lives in her Majesties service, maye have some helpe and mayntenance in this dangerous tyme. My house, nigh Alnewick, 24th Nov. 1569.

P. S.—At the enclosinge hereof, I was credybly enformed that the Erles have offered wages to all that will come, and especially to [those of] the evill contreyes, xvid. a-daye."—*State Papers.*

cowld get away. He saythe, that they ar 1000 horsemen, and better, well appointed; but for theyr footmen, they are symple creatures, nothynge so well as they have byn accowntyd: so as yf we had heare 500, or 1000 horsemen, and 300 shott, we wold nothing dowght the overthrow of them, for all theyr strenkth ys yn ther horsmen.

I perceve, by letters from my L. Admirall, that ther ys a grete army prepared by my L. Warwyke, and my L. Admiral, to repayre hytherward; suerly yt ys more then nedes, for yf we may have 1000 horsemen, and 3 or 400 shott, we wold not dought but sune too make an end of thys matter.

I have sent to Barwyk for 300 shott, and 100 horse: but I perceve that the Marshal, havyng some dought of Capten Rede, ys lothe too send any from thens."

And the Earl of Sussex writes, that the "rebells be presently eighty miles from Dancaster; and when they wer in these parts, Pomfret and Feribrig were so garded, and Sir Thomas Gargrave there, with commission to levy all the force of those parts, as I never sawe danger to Dancaster. And if ther were a back of one thousand horse sent hither to remayne in this contry, that the rebells should not flee, and steale backe behind me, when I pursue them, I think it would suffice to end all these matters in these parts without further charge."

On the 1st Dec. he writes that he has directed Mr. Strangwish and Mr. Layton to levy 200 men, and go to Hartlepool and keep it for the Queen. It appears, however, that Christopher Nevell had entered it with 300 men, and was keeping it for the rebells.—*State Papers.*

The Council of the North to Sir G. Bowes, 1st Dec.

Sir George,—We have received two letters from you of one effect; and do heartely thank you for your dylygente travell in those parts, and care in advertysing, which we pray you to contynew, so as we maye understande where

the rebells lye in those parts, and [so] to do from tyme to tyme.

We expect, dayly, a force of horsemen, and harquebuziers from the sowth, and when they come will presently sett forwards; and therefore we praye yow send to the Wardens of the Borders, to hasten the horsemen appointed to come from them.

My Lord Admyral in Lykcolnshire, and my Lord of Warwyck at Lecester, be redye with a grete army to joyn together, to back us yf occasion require; which we trust, when the horsemen come, [we] shall not gretly nede.

You shall receve, herwith, a letter to Sir John Forster, which we praye you to have delyvered. And so we byd you hartely well to fare: and praye you to send, as you knowe, from the Wardens, the nombers that shall come to you, and the day of ther comyng, to advertyse us with spede therof. From York, 1st* of Dec. 1569.—*Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 340. *Copy, by Lord Sussex.*

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, Dec. 1.

Evene nowe, the rebells, with the two Erlles, hath plantyd to me, butt not rownde: ther fotmen ys butt comynge. They offerde somons, which I by shetynge† a gunne over hys

* Sir F. Leek and M. Stanhope write to Cecil, from Newark, 1st Dec.:—It may please, &c. Mr. Renold Lee, whom we dispatched to Serburn. He learned the rebels were departed from Todcaster towards Richmond, on Saturday last, spoiling Richmond at their coming, upon colour that they would not send them such men and aid as they send for: thence they passed towards Bransbye, spoiling all places in their way of cattle and horses, and what else they could come by; and so did they in the Lord Latimers, Lord Evers, and Sir Will. Bellowes, ... as Sir W. Bellowes reported to him at York. At Gatherly, where these rebels mustered their men on Monday, when it was credibly reported to him that they were not above four thousand footmen at the most, the most part whereof rude, unarmed, and ill appointed; and an eight hundred horsemen, or under a thousand.

They discharged the most of their footmen, to be ready at an hour's call. —Newark, 1st Dec.

We hear "the common persons have conceived a mistrust towards the Earls, that they would steal away from them beyond the seas, or out of the land, and leave them in the briers."—*State Papers.*

† Shooting.

head, refused, and wold suffre no man to speake to theyme. Your L. knowythe the stayt of this howsse: but yff I had the 300 shotte, to come frome Berwyck, hear, I shuld beat theym owtt of the toune which they have taken. We vewe theyr horsmen to be abowt 1200, all whych standythe within fawcone shotte, which we lacke, and kepethe that we have choyssle,* for feare of ferther lacke. We loke for releaffe at your Lordship, whoes settyng forthe butt one dayes jorney owtt of Yorke, I trust wolde feare† theyme, and Yorkshire, ys now clene swepyd of theyme. Notwithstanding many of those that came home from them receyving theyr vyttayles, and gettinge such money as they cold, ar retorned to them agayn; but yf some soldyers were shewen, I fully hope yt wold do much good. Fynally, I have, and shall serve dewtyfully: and so long as I shall leve, I shall keep my faythe and truthe to our good Quene Elizabeth unspotted.

It were convenyent that some of good credytt were sent into Cumberland, without which, Symon Musgrave (who ys very forward) and willing in thys service, and so ys the L. Scrope, but not so well inclyned as the other ys, lytle will be done for the servyce; and, therfore, the said Symon ys mete to serve. Thus having myne eares full of ther shoting, and informed that ther fyve peces of ordynance now in sight, which I think they meane this nyght, to plant; I humbly take my leave. From the Quenes Majesties Castell of Barnard Castell, in haste, the first‡ of December, 1569.

Yt is necessary that we be hastely releved.—*Orig. Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 361.

Lord Sussex writes to Cecil, 1st Dec.—"Good Mr. Secretary, helpe me with some horsemen, some harquebusses, and some money."

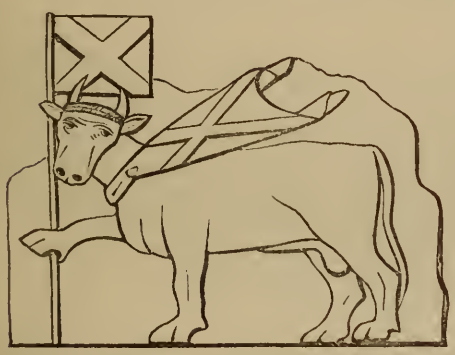
* Carefully. † Frighten; so used by Shakspeare.

‡ Christopher Nevill issues an order, dated 1st December, 1569, from Barnard Castle, to the inhabitants of Huddes ....., *in her Majesties name*, to repair forthwith, in their best array for the war, to Barnard Castle; and to be there at ten o'clock on Saturday, without fail, as they will answer at their "uttermost perill."

Sir. R. Sadler to Cecil, 2nd Dec.

"Sir,—This berer* hath been comended unto me by letters from my Lord of Bedford; and, upon his arrival here with me, he departed straight wayes towards the rebells, and hath been amongst them at Raby ;† and, as he sayeth, hathe had conference with both the Erles, and with one Xtofer Norton, who is thought to have been one of the principal workers of this rebellion. What conference he hathe had, and what he hath lerned amongst them, himself will declare unto you.

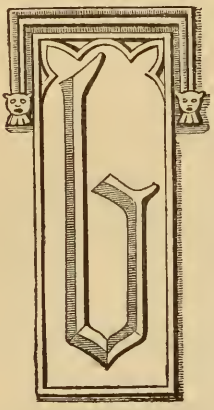
* Captain Strelley, *(See Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 35, 89*)* who undertook to go as a spy to Branspeth, &c. The Queen "conceyveth very well of him," and that he is "not unlike to atchieve this his purpose; in hope whereof she hath promised him (and in respecte of his long and faithfull service don unto her) a suite which he hath bene a long suyter for." An allowance is made to him *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 185*)* of Cs. for riding poste to the court, with his intelligence: which does not appear. Christopher Norton, on the scaffold, accuses Captain Philip Shurley, of being the cause of his death, who was, in all probability, the person above named.



† Raby does not seem, either from its position, or style of building, to have ever been intended as a place of much strength as a fortress. It would rather appear to have been the favoured residence of the Nevilles in times of peace; and Brancepath would be the stronghold in times of war. Of its early possessors, see *Hutchinson, Vol. III. p.* 263.

Leland, who wrote the first part of his Itinerary about 1540, *(Vol. I. fol.* 91*)* says, "Raby is the largest Castel of logginges in al the North Cuntery; and is of a strong building, but not set other on hill, or very strong ground. As I enterid a causey into it, ther was a litle stagne on the right hond; and, in the first area were but 2 toures, one at ech ende, as entres, and no other builded yn the 2 area; as in entring was a great gate of iren, with a tour, and 2 or 3 mo on the right hond. Then were al the chief toures of the 3 court, as in the hart of the Castel. The haul, and all the houses of offices, be large and stately; and in the haul I saw an incredible great beame of an hart. The great chaumber was exceedin large; but now it is fals rofid, and devided into 2 or 3 partes. I saw ther a litle chaumber, wherin was, in windowes of colerid glasse, al the petigre of the Nevilles; but it is now taken down, and glasid with clere glasse.

The rebells are now afore Barnay Castle, and in dede be doing with Sir George Bowes, who I truste shal be able to defende himself; but I do marvel much that my Lo. of Cumberland, my Lo. Scroop, and my Lo. Wharton do lye still and do nothing, as far as I can here. My L. Lieutenant hath wrytten sondry tymes unto them, to



"There is a tower in the Castel having the mark of 2 capitale B. from Berthram Bulmer.

"There is another tower, bering the name of Jane, bastard sister to Henry the IV. and wife to Rafe Nevile, the first Erl of Westmerland."

Immediately after the rebellion, a survey was taken, 14th June, 1570, and Raby is therein described as "the most anncyent house of th Erle of Westmerland; and scytuat in the South part of the Busshopryk, tenne myles from Darneton, and fyve myles from Barnard Castle. And the Castell of Raby ys a marevelouse huge house of buyldyng, wherin are three wards, and buylded all of stone, and covered with leade; and yet ys there no order or proporcion in the buylding therof, and standyth in a playne countre. The ground and soyle aboute yt very good and bountefull for corn and grasse, but very barren of wood and tymber. Neyther the scytuacon of the place, or the Castell ytselfe, of any strengthe, but lyke a monstrouse old abbey, and will soone decay yf it be not continually repayred, yt standyth so open and playne, and subject to all wynd and wether. And, albeyt, the same is tenne myles further South then Braunspeth; yet ys yt more subject to all extremyte of wether then Braunspeth, bycause yt standyth naked and bare, without covert, and more open npon the great waste called Fends Fell and Weredale, which begyne within two myles of Raby, and so continue to Hexam, a great wast countrey and nothing so well inhabyted as th Est parte of the Busshoprick, and few gentlemen of any lands or lyving inhabyting there; for the most parte of all the possessions in those partes are eyther belonging to the Busshoprick or to th Erle. And the gentlemen that were [of] any possessions were planted in the Este parts of the countrey; and that dyd wel appere at this horryble and monstruous entrepryse, for ther were not many gentlemen of any possessions inhabyting betwen the houses of Raby and Braunspeth, on the West parte of the countrey and th Est Sea, but were infected with this rebellion; and toke part with th Erle, to the utter subversion of themselfs and their posteryte, as shall right well appere, by reason whereof the countrey is left voyde and barren of governers and gydes, and very much empoveryshed, not withowt ther greate deserte."

In 1613, Raby was granted by James I. to his favourite, the Earl of Somerset; and after a brief possession, it reverted to the Crown. In 1629, the Castle, Parks, &c. were purchased of the lessees of Charles I. by Sir Henry Vane the elder, Knight, together with Barnard Castle, on the payment of a yearly rent—a fine of £1500; the woods to be taken at a valuation; and Sir H. Vane engages to discharge all the officers' fees, amounting to £51 6s. per annum.—*Privy Seal Records.*

prepare and levie ther forces, and to repair with the same to Barnay Castle, but hitherto we here nothing from them.*

We cannot deale safelie with the rebells till we be furnished strongly with horsemen."

In another letter of the same date,† from the same, it is

In 1645, 29th June, Sir Francis Liddle, with 120 horse, from Bolton Castle, seized Raby by a daring *coup-de-main*, and retained possession for a month. In 1648 it stood a seige, the only record of which appears in the Parish Register of Staindrop, which names a soldier slain at the "seidge,' 27th Aug.; and that many soldiers were slain before Raby Castle, and buried in the park. Since which period it has remained in the peaceful possession of the lineal descendants of Sir Henry Vane; and is now the principal and splendid residence of William Harry, Duke of Cleveland, Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

* A letter from Brougham Castle, dated the last of Nov. to Cecil, and signed by the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Scroope, and Lord Wharton, states, that they have sent one hundred men already; but they fear for the consequences of withdrawing troops from the borders.— *Orig. State Papers.*

† See this letter in full *Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 51, correct in substance, though not a literal copy.

Thomas Cecil, who is stated *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 166*)* to have been Captain of 362 light horsemen, to attend on the Lieutenant's person, from the 25th Nov. writes to his "most lovinge father" on this day, that "No certayne daye is knowen of the marching forward of the army here, butt stayeth uppon th arrival of certayn bandes, which are lookid for, from Barwick and from the West Riding towards Wakefield and Hallifax; without the which supply it is thought not mete to venture the battail with this poower, being farre weaker in horsemen then the enemy, and the footmen very weakly armed." He says, Lord Sussex offered him three hundred men to command, which he declined; and "refused, in respect of my disabilitye and my resolute meaning, to serve but privatelye."— *Orig. State Papers.*

The young Earl of Rutland, who was made "Coronal" or Lieutenant of the footmen, from the 25th Nov. *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 163*)* also writes on the same day to Cecil,—"Syr, I doo not advertise you of the newes here, for that I think my Lo. Lieutenant does advertise you dayly, and also can better and more certenly write of procedynges of the two Erles and their confederats than I; and, therefore, I have now nothing to write, but to request you, that in your next letters unto my L. Lt. or Mr. Sadler, you will give them most hartly thanks for their frendly and honorable usinge of me; for the which I am to give the like, and to think myself, as I have thought always, most and hooly bond unto you, and so to be att your comandment, both body and all that I have; for I assure myself that the whole, or the greatest of this frendship, I receve for your sake. My L. Lt. hath made me his Lieutenant over the footmen; and also doth call me in counsayll when so ever they treate of any matter; and further, uses me as if I weare his owne sonne: and Mr. Sadler doth the like. Thus I commit you to the tuicon of Almighty God, praying you that my comendations may be

stated that "the rebells, as I have intelligence, ar now at Raby; and as it is said, that yesterday or to day they ar doing with Sir George Bowes at Barnay Castle; what they intend further I cannot tell, but as I here they have gotten Hartlepoole, and have put three hundred men into it to keep it for them."—"Without horsemen this service cannot be expedited, nor yet can we take the feld with suertie, so long as the rebells be stronger of horsmen then we; and, therefore, shall we be fayne to tary the longer here, which wil be a gret charge to the Quenes Majestie, without doing her highnes any service." Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler write to the Council a letter to the same effect—on the "lack of horsemen."—*State Papers.*

On the 3rd Dec. they write again:—"The power of the rebells consistethe, principallye, of horsemen, which I take to be about 1000 well appoynted, and others sometymes reported to be twelve hundred, sometimes fifteen. Ther fotemen hath ben never to be better then six thousand.

Ther leaders be the Earles, the Nortons, Markenfeld, and some other of the Earles servants. They in their travell have carried with them no ordinance.

They have spoiled such, in all places, as they misliked, and specially protestants.—Hussey is taken in Cumberland, and is in prison with my L. Scrope.

This day I received letters from Sir G. Bowes, that the rebells had beseiged him in Barnay Castle, and brought ther ordinance within his sight. He is, as I am informed, vii or viii hundred men, and the Castell is very stronge, and hath three wards. All th ordinance they can bring thether, so farre as I can learne, ys but three or four slings, and a falcon of cast yron; so as if he be furnished of victualls, as I trust he is, for that he hathe longe loked for this seige, I doubt not the Castell.

remembered to my Lady, your wife. From York, the 2nd of December. your most bounden and assuredly to command, Edward Rutland."—*Orig. State Papers.*

I lie still here only for lack of a few horsemen. 3rd Dec. 1569. (Signed)

T. Sussex, H. Hunsdon, R. Sadler.

The Council of the North to Sir G. Bowes, 3rd Dec.

After our very harty comendatyons: we have receyved your letres of the fyrst of this month, and therby perceyve the rebelles have beseiged you, and we meen to releyve you with alle possyble spede; so in the mene tyme we pray you to gyve credyte to the berer, in that tocheth your own surety.

From Yorke, the thyrd* of Dec. 1569.—*A Copy by the E. of Sussex. Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 355.

On the 4th Dec. the Lord Lieutenant gives orders to the Mayor, &c. of York, to provide carriages for the conveyance of the baggage of the army under his "leading."†

Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cecil on the 6th: (*see Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 55) noticing the Queen's letter to the Lord Lt. Lord Hunsdon, and himself; that she can "hardly

* Sir F. Leek, writes on the 3rd Dec. from Newark Castle to the Privy Council; that his man, whom he had sent into the North for the purpose, had brought him the following information:—"Markenfield ys passed to the seas, with promyse to make hys short returne. The Earles remeyned styl at Rabye: theyr people are dyspersed in devers partes, as well the horsmen as the footemen. On Thursday last, he mett, a myle from Peersbrig, five hundred of the horsemen, with Christopher Nevell, theyr Captayne, who, as he sayth, were better furnished than he hath sene the Northern horsemen; for, besydes theyr staves, there was fewe of them without a case of pystolets; and, as he thynketh, he dyd certeynly see William Norton in that companye. The common brewtte amongst the rebels, was, that theyr first vyage shal be to Barny Castell, whyther, they sayd, the whole forse should aproche thys day. And yett, althoughe he dylygently enquyred, he could not understand of any certeynty the Earles have others than hagbutts and a croke, butt onlye three smale brassen pyesses at Brancepyth. All theyr force, bothe of horsemen and footmen do wear red crosses, as well pr—stes as the other. So do prey God for your honorable preservasyon."

† Every cart or carriage to have two carters, every cart to have seven horses, and every wayne ten oxen, at least: the said carriages to be delivered on the 8th, to Christopher Lepton, Esquier, Commissary. (*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 183, *called Rupton.*)—*Corporation Records, York.*

beleve that the force and power of her good subjects of this countrey should not increase." But Sadler says, there is "not, in all this country, x gentilmen that do favour and allowe of her Majesties procedings in the cause of religion:" and that the common people are ignorant, and full of superstition; he, therefore, considers that the northern forces "would fyght but fayntly," and thinks it necessary to wait for the southern army.

Neither the treasure nor the armour are yet arrived, and the Lord Lt. "fedeth all the noblemen and gentlemen here assembled" at a great expense.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 6th Dec.

I am sorye I dare not, untill further force come, releve Sir George Bowes, who I fere hath more men in Barney Castell then he can vyttall; and, therefore, I have used all the menes I maye, by sendyng of meny fote messengers to gett one to enter the Castell.

All the letters be to one effect: that I will, with all spede possible, marche forward; but ther credyte is to wylle him to cause his horsemen to break thorowe their campe in the nyght, and come hether, or go to Newcastle, or some other place of suerty, yf he have not sufficient porcon of vittals.....

A man of Sir G. Bowes came to me out of those parts, by whom I perceyve no person can enter, or come out of the Castle. He sayth the rebells have shotte three days together, at the wall of the utter ward, but they have don no hurt; and th Erle of Northumberland is gon towards Duresm, with five hundred horsemen, to mete the shotte of Barwyck, and the horsemen of Northumberland.—God send them of Barwyck never worse matche.—*Original, State Papers.*

Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler to the Queen, 6th Dec.

We heare the rebells do still beseige Sir George

Bowes, and have yet don litle, so as if he have victuells, we thinke they can not prevaile; but he is so inclosed, partly by a river, and partly by them, as he can not advertise us of his state, nor we sende to him.

——And where it hath pleased your Majestie, in answer of the private letters of me, your Highnes Lieutenant, to signifie unto me, that as sondry circumstances and events have geven occasion of reports; so could ther never enter into your royal harte any conceite of unloyaltie to be in me, and therefore will suspend your judgement accordinge to my humble petition. I do render most humble thanks to your Majestie, and thinke myself greatlier bounde to your Majestie for this great favor, then for any other thing that any ways could have happened to me; and according to your Majesties truste, conceyved of my loyaltie and diligence in your service, and confirmed by the good reporte of Sir R. Sadler, I will do the uttermost, alwayes, that maye lye in me, to perform my dutie, and to satisfie your expectation.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to the Lord Admiral, Dec. 6th.*

My good Lord,—Understanding, this day, that Sir George Bowes is so beseiged by the rebells, as neither I can send to him, nor he to me; and doubting how he is furnished of victuells, I think it convenient to sett forwards with all the possible sped I may; and, therefore, have sent this bearer to waite upon your Lo. to bring me certen worde when the 300 shott, 300 armed pikes, and the horse, that shall come from your Lo. may be at Wetherby, to th ende that they from thence, and I from hence may set forwards to meete at Northallerton.—It were great pitie such a gentleman sholde be loste.—*Original, State Papers.*

The Queen writes on the 7th Dec. to the Earl of

* Edward, Lord Clinton, who, with the Earl of Warwick, commanded the Southern army.

Cumberland (*Haynes, p.* 570) that finding the rebels do yet remain in strength, and no resistance made: "much to the discredit of our good subjects ther;" she directs him to levy and muster such forces as he his able to raise, and to take charge of Lord Scropes wardenry during his absence: and she also writes (7th Dec.) to Lord Scrope to levy all the forces he can—and adds that she considers it strange that the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Wharton, and himself, could only send out of Westmoreland and Cumberland two hundred horsemen, and not even to send them "without money to be first sent to you."

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 7th Dec.

Good Sir George,—I am sorye that I cowld not come soner to your rescue, for, that, by the Quenes Majesties specyall dyrectyon I have taryed for my L. of Warwyk, and my Lord Admirall, who wyl be at Boroughbryg on Satterday next, with 1200 horemen, on thowsand herquebusiers, on thowsand armed pyks, and 2000 bylls; and I, God wylling, wyl be, the same nyght, at Toplyff with 1200 horsemen, 500 harquebusiers, 500 pyks, on thowsand archers, and 4000 byllmen. I have also appóynted the Earle of Cumberland, the L. Scrope, the L. Wharton, and Lenard Dacres, with all the horsemen and fotmen of Westmoreland and Comberland; and Sir John Foster, Sir Henry Percye, John a Selbye,* and the Treasorer of Barwyk,† with all the horsemen of Northum-

* John Selby, of Twisell, was Gentleman-Porter of Berwick. He was knighted in 1582; and buried at Berwick, 23rd Nov. 1595. This appointment appears almost hereditary in his family; as his father, John, and his son, Sir William, both held the office.

† Valentine Brown, was at this time, Treasurer of Berwick (*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 176); and came with the troops of that garrison. He was a friend of Sir George Bowes. He suffered by the depredations of Christopher Nevil, who took out of his pasture in Whorleton, in Cleveland, 16 oxen, 22 stiers, 26 kyen, and 28 weathers; and he lost in money, lent to the Earl of Northumberland in the last Parliament, £100. (*State Papers.*) He was knighted by the Earl of Sussex, at Carlisle, 28th Aug. 1570. In 1573, and 74, in the absence of Lord Hunsdon, he was Deputy Governor of Berwick; but

berland; 300 soldyers of Barwyk; and Capten Carvells band at Newcastell, now reckoned to be one hundred, to mete on Friday, ixth Dec. to marche forwards on that syde towards you: so as, God wyllinge, the on of these armyes, or bothe, will be with you on Mundaye nexte, wher of I thought fett to gyve you knowledge; and so I wyshe to you as to my self. From York, the vii of Dec. 1569.—*Calig. B. IX.* 333. *Copy, by Lord Sussex.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 8th Dec.

Sir G. Bowes, I feare, wil be in some perill, for lacke of victuells, if he be not spedily releved; and the rebells have wone the first warde: and, therefore, God willing, I will, with the force I have, sett forwards the xth day of this month.

My horsemen, I think, be fewer in nomber than the rebells, but the most of those I have be now well appointed, savyng for pystollets; and my fotemen begin to frame metely well, so as I trust by good direcon, and Gods

in 1574, charges were preferred against him about the victualling of Berwick, and, in a letter to Sir George Bowes, from London, 6th Jan. 1574 *(Bowes MS. Vol. II. p. 5)* he says, 36 false articles had been exhibited against him, which he intends to answer before the Council. Lord Hunsdon does not appear to be his friend; and "the knave Sutton," is a decided enemy. It would seem that he was placed in duress, as the Privy Council permit hiswife and child to go to him. *(Council Books.)* These charges appear to be still unsettled in 1579, when Sir George writes to him from Berwick, "That the general report goeth here that your enemyes had geven you a great overthrowe; and that you were lyk to forgoo your offyce with displeasure, and my Lord of Hunsdon, in his passage towards London, thorow thees partes, dyd deliver the lyk speach, whose comyng, I feare, will more hynder your cause then further it." Sir George offers to come to London if he can be of any service, though suffering grievously from pains in his back, so as to be unable to ride; and he recommends Sir Valentine to obtain the friendship of Mr. Haddon, "tho youe come derely to it," *(Bowes MS. Vol. VI. p. 31.)* He was one of the twelve Knights, "of kindred or frends," who attended the funeral of Sir Philip Sydney, 16th Feb. 1586-7.

helpe, and the goodness of the cause, to give them the overthrow, or put them to flight.

The xiith day I intende to be at Darneton.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil on the 11th Dec. from York:—"This day the footmen be set forwards out of this cittye; and to morrow I overtake them with the horsemen, and wyll lye at Allerton on Tuesday."

On the same day, Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler write to the Council:—"The place (Hartlepole) with tyme and longe worke, may be made of such force as by good soldiers it mighte be kepte; but as it is, and possessed by such as have it, we think verily it cannot be kept three daies against us.—The haven will not receive any great shipp at full sea, and at lowe water all vessels lye apon dry grounde; so as hardley can it serve for forein power.

We be sory that negligence was used by such as shuld have entered into it.—We had nether ordinance nor shott to putt into it; and that many parts of the walls were broken downe. We think that such as shold have entered into it, could neither have kept it from the rebells, nor from any forein force.

We have this day set forwards footmen; to morrow horsemen. Sir George Bowes hath putt forth in the night all his horsemen,* who brake upon the watche of the rebells;

* This must apply to the deserters, as Sir George brought three hundred horsemen away with him from Barnard Castle. "He put foorth of the Castell (6th Dec.) two hundred horsemen, whereof two persons were slaine, and thirtie taken by the rebells." *(Howe's Chrons.)* Sir George does not mention this sally, but says, "that night the skirmish was they hurt, with harquebus shot, three score and seven within the Castle." An immense mass of depositions occur in the Bowes papers respecting the skirmish, to prove the damage done, and to implicate the parties who took a part in it. Sir George sent forth a party of horse with cattle, from the Westgate, to be placed in the park. Some of the horsemen were taken and stripped to their "dublets and hose;" and their horses were sold by the Captain, and the money distributed to the men. Captains Robynson, Tatam, and Metcalfe are named; and Sampson Norton appears to have held a high command.

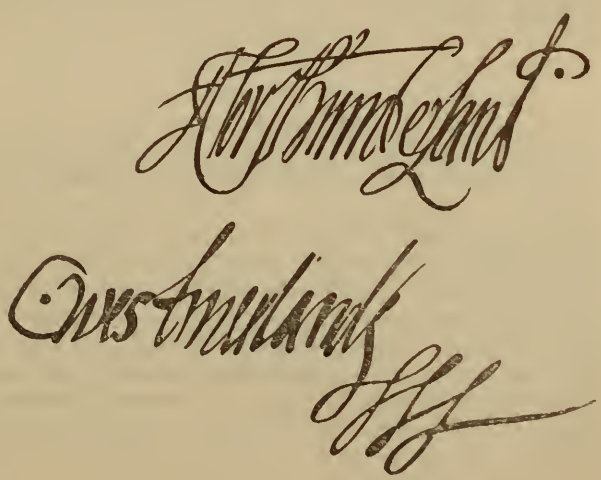
and be, for the most parte, gone to my Lo. of Comberland in saulftie, and we hope to come in tyme to his relefe.

The rebells, hearing of or settinge forwards, have sent their precepts to assemble what fotemen they can; one of which we send unto you enclosed."* —*Orig. State Papers.*

Lord Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler to the Council, 12th Dec.

It may please your good LL. This day Sir George Bowes, Robert Bowes, his brother, and diverse of the gentlemen that were with him in Barnay Castell, came hether to us; by whom we understand that the soldiers that were in the Castell, did daily, by great nombers, leape over the walls to go to the rebells. And on Friday last, ther leaped

* To all the Bailiffs and Governors of Richmond, and to every of them:—These are to will and require you, and, nevertheless, in the Quenes Majesties name, to command you, that ymediately upon the sight hereof, you make your repaier to Stayndrope; to be there before us, the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other the worshipfulls there, upon Monday nexte, before xii of the clok at none; bringing with you all and every such able men betwixt the age of xvi and lx years as be within Richmond, with such furnitor of horse, armor, and wepon, as any of you have.—Faile you not hereof, as you tender the settyng forwards of our proceedings, and will answer at your uttermost perell. Geven at Durham, the ixth day of Dec. 1569. P. S. Let every man bring victualls for vi daies to serve with all.



—*Orig. State Papers.*

over the walls at one tyme, abowt the nomber of fourscore: since which tyme, they have growen to such mutenies, as, upon Saturday, vii or viii score of them, that were appointed to garde the gates, and had alwayes ben of the best disposed, did sodenly sett open the gats, and went to the rebells; wherupon Sir George Bowes, seing the falshode of his men, was dreven to composicon, and is with all his men, horses, and armor that remayned there, come away in saulftie. He hath had longe lacke of drink, and was scanted of bread: and yet if his men had ben trewe, he mighte, and wold have kepte it untill he had ben releved. He hath served very faithfully and stowtly, and the rebells have spoiled him of all he hathe, so as his losse is very greate; and yet it semeth, the delivery of the Castell, by the falshode of his men, doth greve him more then all his losses, although, considering he and the gentlemen be in saulfty, we finde the rebells have smale comoditie by the Castell.

We have made the greater haste forwards upon hope that when we sholde come towards the river of Teise, the rebells wold levy the seege: and that being now at an ende, we will marche forwards more easely.

——We thinke it will be two dayes longer before we come where the rebells be. Cesame, by Toplif, 12 Dec.* 1569. —*State Papers.*

By the L. Lieutenant.

Sr. George Bowes,—We authorize you, by these presents, forthwith to levye, and take upp, within Rich-

† On this day the Earls issued a proclamation to the tenants of the Bishop, for the payment of their rents:—"Thomas, the Earle of Northumberland, and Charles, the Earle of of Wesmerland, do wyll and comande, in the Quenes Majesties name, all and everie the tenants belonginge to the layte *supposed* Bishop of Durham, that they make ready all suche rents as were due at Martynmas last; so as they may be undelaydlye payd in the accustomed place, within the Ex· ıequer of Durham, before Satterdaye next, as they wyll answer to the contrarye at ther perills. At Durham, the xiith day of December, 1569. T. Northumberland, C. Westmerland."—*Orig. Harl. MS.* 6990, 45.

mondshire, the Bishoprike of Duresme, and Allertonshire, so many horsemen as ye can gett, that be sufficiently furnished with horse and armor, for the warres, and have not been in the confederacie or ayde of the rebells; and to take, within the same places, armor and speares for the supplieing of your lacks, of all persons that be not appointed to be in the Q. Majesties paye, for her service at this tyme. And further, to levy one hundreth fotemen where you shall think fetest; and them to furnish with such armor and weapen as you can gett, and shall be fetest for her Majesties service. For the doinge whereof, these shal be your sufficient dischardge. Dated xiij Decemb. 1569.

T. Sussex.

To our wel beloved Sir George Bowes, Knighte, Marshall of her Majesties Armye.—Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p.* 12.

Sir G. Bowes to Secretary Cecil, 14th Dec. 1569.

It may please your honorable mastership: Yesternyght

* Although this letter is addressed to Sir George Bowes as Marshal of the Army, yet his official appointment is dated on the 15th:—

"Thomas, Earle of Sussex, &c. the Quenes Majesties Lieutenante Generall in the North parts, to all men to whom these presents shall come, gretinge:—Where it hath pleased the Quenes most excellent Majesty by her Highness letters patent, under her great seale of England, bearing date the ..... daye of November, 1569, to appointe me, the same Earle, to be her Majestys Lieutenante Generall within the Counties of Yorke, Duresme, Northumberland, Westmerlande, Comberlande, &c.; and to authorize me to levye her Majesties subjects in the said shires, and them to raye, arme, and leade, as well for the suppressing of all rebells within the saide shires, or any other parte of the realme: as also to defende all forein invasion, and the saide rebells to kill or save, &c. &c. And to exequte the martiall lawe; and to nomynate and appointe, for that purpose, one Provost Marshall, as by the same letters patent more at lardge appereth. Knowe ye, that I, the saide Earle, for the speciall trust and confidence that I have in the good discrecon, wisdom, and diligent circumspeccon of Sir George Bowes, Knighte, have appointed, and by these presents do appointe the said Sir George Bowes to be Provoste Marshall through all the lymits expressed in the saide letters patents. And do, by these presents, authorize him to dooe and exequte all that th office of Provost Marshall as before saide doth belonge and appertaine. In wittnes whereof, I have sett my hande and seale to these presents, the xvth daye of December, 1569. Seal.

T. Sussex."

Original, in the possession of F. D. Johnson, Esq. Aykely Heads.

I receyved a letter from the Quenes Majestie, of the 26th off Nov. last, with another letter from yow of the sayme date: before which tyme I receyved none from her hyghness or Privy Councell, or yow, at any tyme sythens my entre into her Majesties Castle of Bernard Castell, which was in the beginning of thys rebellyon; and beyng then commanded by her graces severall commyssyons to me and others, derecte, to levye power, to be in redynes to attend upon the Lord Lieutenant, to suppresse thys rebellyon; I had gathered thether bothe horsmen, and allso fotmen, and kepyng them at Barnard Castle with me; to repayer to the Lord Lieutenant, upon his Lordships call, as he had dyrected me. I was, in the mene tyme, beseged by the rebells, and contenewyng there in strayte seage, wythe very hard dyett and great want of bread, drynck, and water; which was our onely dryncke, save I myxed yt with some wyne.

I fownde the people in the Castle in continuall mutenyes, seakyng not only, by greatt nombers, to leape the walles and run to the rebells; but also by all menes to betraye the pece,* and with open force to deliver yt, and all in yt, to the rebells. So far, as in one daye and nyght, two hundred and twenty six men leapyd over the walles, and opened the gaytes, and went to the enemy; off which nomber, thirty fyve broke their necks, legges, or armes in the leaping. Upon which especyall extremytyes, and that day our water that we had, by the intelligens off them that fled from us, being strayt, or taken away;† and by other great occasyons, I was forced, by composytyon offerd, to leave the pece; takyng with me all the men, armor, weapens, and horses; levyng my household stuffe, which I mayd no accompt off, in this tyme of servyce, tho the valewe wer greatt; so as the

* A fortified place.

† Two reservoirs, called the great and little *Ever*, on a neighbouring elevation to the North called the *Flatts*, supplied the Castle with water. The medium of communication was by leaden pipes, which the deserters had probably destroyed. Fragments of these pipes are frequently discovered.

enemyes receyed only the bare pece and stuff aforesaid, which, by the causses aforesayd, I could holde no longer. And I am come with my holle nomber, which this day will be three hundred horse, and one hundreth fotmen, to the Lo. Lieutenant, to serve her hyghness, wythe all my force and redy harte; trustyng yt wyll please her graces goodness to accompt, in good part, these my doynges, intendyt only to save hyr graces good subjects from the force of the rebells; and to bryng theym agayne in place of servyce, rather than to preserve my lyeff, the danger wherof shall never drawe me any whytt backe from hyr hyghness servyce, with my full dewtye.

Hereof I wrytte the more shortte unto you, because I truste the Lo. Lieut. hath alredy certifyed hyr grace of all thyngs touching thys matter; wher in I humble praye your favorable supporte and gudness, to holde me, in case and opynyone, as my symple faythe and truthe hath and shall deserve. At my comyng abrode, my storers, and kepers off my houses, repayred to me with the sayme speache that Jobes* servants to him, (save only for my children:) for I am utterly spoylled off all my goodes, bothe within and without; my housses, and all my corn and cattle karried away; and my housses fully defaced, by pulling away off the dores, wyndowes, irons off the windows, sylyng, and all my brewe vessels and other vessels, and chymnees apperteyning my kytchyn; so that I now possess nothing but my horse, armor, and weapon, brought out from Barnard Castle, which I more esteem than twenty times so much off other things; for that by yt I am enablyd to serve my good Quene, whom God preserve, and I wey not all my losses. And thus I pray God preserve you. From Sysaye the xiiijth of December, 1569.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex writes to Sir William Cecil, from

* Job, Chap. I. v. 19.

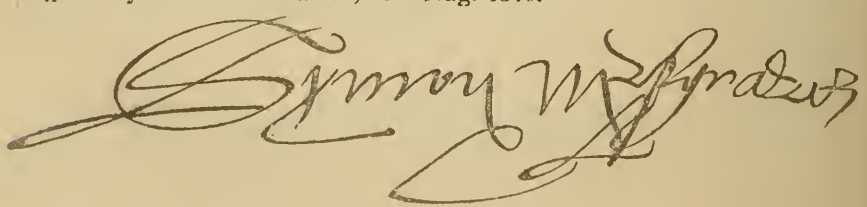
Northallerton, on the 14th Dec.*—"Symond Musgrave† is arived with 400 horsemen."—"If the rebells offer the fyght, I wyll not refuse it, considering my L. of Warwyk and my L. Admirall be at my backe."

Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler write, that "Lord Warwick and the L. Admiral cam last night to Wetherby.—The rebells do gather what they can in Richmondshire and the Bishoprick, but ther forces be not yet come together, so as we can not advertise your LL. any certentye therof; but as we heare many gothe to them from places nere to them, and farre from us; and many come from them in the places nere to us; and to morrow we truste we shall understand more particularly of their force, and whether ther be lykelyhood that they intende to fight, or not.—Symon Musgrave has brought Thomas Hussey."—*Orig. State Papers.*

On the 15th, Sir Ralph Sadler writes to the Lords of the Council for money *(see Sadler's State Papers, Vol.*

* The Earl of Rutland writes to Cecil, 14th Dec. "I am sure you are not ignorant of Sir G. Bowes deliverance out of Barney Castell. We ar now att Allerton, marching towards the rebells."—*Orig. State Papers.*

† Of Eden Hall, Sheriff Co. Cumb. 11th Eliz. He is stated in Sadler (Vol. II. p. 168) to have commanded five hundred horsemen which came from Lord Scrope; and to have received two hundred pounds in prest, to be defaulted upon his further pay. Lord Sussex, in his letter of the 19th Dec. speaks favourably of him; but says his men were "spoylers." In a letter to Sir George Bowes from Carlisle, (14th April, 1570) who was probably wishing to settle the account of the prest money, he says, "I am hartely sorye that I am nott abyll to satesfye youre mynd, for, treuly, I have nott Vli. in my custody; butt so sone as I am abyll, or any moneye shall com to my hands, I wyll send yt to your honor, and, in the meane tyme, I hartelye pray you to spare me. Thare ys mytche money owyng to me of my wages, iff I myght gett the same."—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. X. p.* 37. He was knighted by the Earl of Sussex, 28th Aug. 1570.



II. p. 65) and says, "we have here upon the point of 4000 fotemen; and, now that Symonde Musgrave is com to us from my Lord Scrope, with 400 horsemen of the West Marches, we be at this present above 1200 horsemen: so that a litle money will go but a litle way among so many." And, by his letter to Cecil of the same date, (p. 66) he says, "the rebells do now gather all the forces they can make. And I lerne all Clevelande, Allertonshire, Rychmondshire, and the Bishopricke, ar all hollie gon unto them, such is their affection to the cause of religion; by meanes whereof they ar grown to the force of grete nombers, but yet confused, without order, armor, or weapon: so that, albeit we thinke ourselfs able ynough with that force, my Lo. Lieut. hathe here to deale with them, and, with Goddes helpe, to give them the overthrowe: yet because my L. of Warwick and my L. Admirall ar so desyrous to be at this service, we do stay for them, of intente to joyne all our forces together, whereby we may proceed with suertie."

On the 15th Dec. the Earls were still at Durham.*

* As appears by the following pass:—"Theis shalbe to will and commaund you to permytt and suffer this berar, Jelberd Havers, to passe and repasse from place to place wher his busynes lyeth, without lett or truble of you or any of youe, as you will answer the contrary at your perell. From Dursham, this xvth of Decembre, 1569.

T. Northumberland, C. Westmerland.

To all and every the servants, tenents, and adherents of th Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, ther frynds, confederats, and allies."—*Orig, MS. Cotton, Calig. B. IX. p.* 405.

Holinshed mentions a skirmish, which is not noticed in detail elsewhere, and which he states to have taken place on the day before the rebells fled towards Hexham (15th Dec.)

"Diverse excursions were made foorth of Newcastle into the Bishoprike, where the two Earles were incamped; and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The Erles yet one day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcastell. Sir John Forster and Sir Henrie Persie, having intelligence thereof, issued foorth of Newcastell with all their forces, and certaine peeces of ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the souldiers of Berwike, meaning verelie to have joined battell with the Earles: Sir H. Persie shewing himself as willing and forward thereto as anie other of all the companies. At Chester Deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcas-

*Valentine Brown to Lord Hunsdon, 16th Dec.**

We are presentlye advertised severally, that the Ll. rebelles, at one of the clocke this present daye, to have

tell, the armies approched the one neere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow dividing them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conveie their ordinance over, the bankes on either side being so steepe and cumbersome. Whereupon the Erles, perceiving that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horsemen, they returned to Durham; and from thence, the next day, they went to Hexham; and, after being in utter despair, fled into Scotland."—*Holinshed's Scotland, p.* 397.

* A letter of this date, from Lady Westmoreland to the Earl of Sussex, appears in "A Collection of Letters, by L. Howard, D.D. 4to. London, 1773, p. 281," and which, bearing every appearance of authenticity, deserves quotation here:—

"Good my Lord: Have consideration of my desolate and comfortless estate, lackyng both quietnes of mynd and helth, neyther beyng able to flie to any place, nor knowyng where to have any refuge; and, besydes all other miserys, I am in great fere of the cruelty of the rude souldiers; and, therefore, albeit my trust is that your Lordship and other of the nobilitie wyll not, of your honours, deale otherwyse wyth [me] then semely; yet I most hartely beseche your good Lordship that such order my be geven that neyther I nor my children, nor such poore servants as are left about me, may be put in fere, or have any bodely harm. And, as for this house and the stuff there-yn, and lykwyse the goods of such poor tenants and servants as are left about me, the same are and shall be at commandment. But I beseech your good Lordship that some way may be appointed to save and defend the same from common spoil, and that none thereof be taken but by direction and appointment; for otherwise shall innocent persons be utterly undone, and constrained to beg, or starve for hunger. Thus trusting, although your Lordship is come to be my Lords mortal enemy in the field, you will not seek revenge on me and my poor children, I live (leve) to trouble your Lordship.

Your Lordship's poor and unfortunate cousin,

J. Westmoreland.

From Branspeth, this 16th of December."

In a letter from Ralph Bowes, (who is mentioned at page 54) dated 16th December, after congratulating Sir George on his escape from the hands of his enemies, he says—"I first received knowledge thereof by my Lord and Master, and Mr. Secretary, your assured friend."—"I hope by this time you have met with my Lord of Warwick, a noble and worthy gentleman, and one that loveth you very well. Frequent his company, and you shall find him very well disposed to do you good, in what he may. You may do well to give thanks, by letters, unto your tender friends and sure pillars, my Lord and Mr. Secretary. And thus, trusting to hear of your good success, with my most entire commendations to you and my good Lady, with my two cousins of mine acquaintance, I wish you all good fortune. From the Court. Yours, most assuredly.

—*Bowes MS. Copy.* R. Bowes."

geven warninge to the comone people to make shifte for themselves; and therhupone have themselves departed with a grett nombre of horsemen westwardes, as is reported: of whiche mattre I thought convenyent to advertise your L. by this speciall messenger, who canne declare in what forwardnes we were this present towardes Durham to have been as nye as we mought possible to you. And thus I betake your L. to the tuycon of th Almightye. Wrytten in hast upon our merche, this xith at night, the xvith of Decem. 1569.

What shal be your pleasure, we nowe do, I praye your L. advertise us by this berer.—*Orig. Calig. B. IX.* 418.

Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler to the Privy Council, 17th Dec. 1569.

It may please your good Lordshipps. We had certen intelligence yesternighte late, that th Earles rebelles and ther confederates were, with ther horsemen, fled* to Exham, in Northumberland; and that all ther fotemen were scaled:† wherupon I, her Majesties Lieutenant, wrate presently to Sir John Foster (who was then with a 1000 horsemen at Newcastell) to pursue them, and to advertise the Regent of Scotland and the L. Scroope therof, by poste. And this morninge early we mett at Croft Bridge, and so be comme forwardes with all the horsemen and shott; and meane to be at Duresme to morow, in the morninge, where we loke to mete with the shott of Barwick, whom we intend (if we may) to sett on horses. And to that ende I, the Lieutenant, sent, the last night, a warrant to the Sherif of the Bisshoprick, to bring to morow, to Duresme, all the horses, for the saddle or for the carte, in the Bisshoprick; and so intend to sett forwardes presently

* Cecil writes to Sir Henry Norris, ambassador in France, from Windsor, 24 Dec.—"The 16th hereof they broke up their sorry army, and the 18th they entered into Northumberland, the 19th into the mountains, they scattered all their footmen, willing them to shift for themselves; and of a thousand horsemen there fled but five hundred."—*Cabala, p.* 159.

† Scattered,—dispersed, still used in the northern counties.

with thorsemen, and so many shott as I can sett on horse-back, to pursue the rebelles with spede.

We have stayed all the rest of [our] fotemen at Darneton, untill at our comminge to Duresme we may see whether it shal be necessarye to drawe them on thether, or that we may casse* a great parte of them for diminishing of chardges.

We have sent Sir Henry Gates, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and Barwik,† Master of the Ordinance, with 600 men, and the ordinaunce in the felde, to take and kepe Hartelpole, which we heare is abandoned, and, if it be not, will be by them taken; and we meane to leave a guarrison for the tyme in Duresme Castell.

To-morow, somtyme of the day or night, we loke to heare from Sir Henry Gates, wherupon and upon such further intelligence as we shall receive at Duresme, we will resolve what guarrisons shall remaine in Duresme, Hartelpole, or any other place for the tyme, and what numbers may be presently cassed, and therof we will advertise your Ll. more fully than presently we can. And so we humbly take our leaves. From Arclif, (Aycliffe) between Darneton and Duresme, the 17th‡ of December, 1569.

Since the writinge hereof, we have received letters from Sir John Forster, wherby we perceve that the rebells came to Exam yester night at one of the clock after midnight; and that he is gone with all the force he can make to follow them, and to annoy them as he may. It may be that they will goo into Liddersdale, or some other part of

* Fr. casser,—cashier, dismiss.

† Humphrey Barwike,—see Sadler, v. 2, p. 181.

‡ Valentine Brown writes to Sir W. Cecil on the 17th Dec. from Gateside—"The Earles, we here, be this day at Hexham." As the county of the Bishoprick and the West Riding of York are all rebells, he hopes they will be punished.

Sir Henry Ratcliffe writes to his brother, the Earl of Sussex, on this day (17th Dec.), "From the Court at Windsor.—I am sorry Sir George Bowes castle was so lost, and yett gladd of his saftye. I hope the rebells shall rather deminishe than encresse theyr forces (theyr attempt being so lewd), and delayes bredes dangers."—*Orig. State Papers.*

Scotland; and therfore we besech your Ll: to let us knowe whether we shall, with the consent of the Regent, joyne with him to pursue them in any parte of Scotland. And for that it may be, that, before your Ll: retorne answer, ther may be occasion offred for this service, we have thought good to let your Ll: understand, that, if we see any speciall service may be done therby, we meane (except we be countermaunded) to joyne with the Regent upon his request; ether with our hoole force or some parte thereof, as the service shall require, in any part of the Scottish Borders.—*Orig. State Papers.*

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*The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 17th Dec.**

Sir,—I have certen intelligence that the rebelles, understanding of my appointment to be at Darneton, be yesterday departed with ther horsemen from Duresme towardes Exham; and ther fotemen that were at Duresme be scaled, and, as I am informed, have sent to habandone Hartelpole. Wherupon I have written to Sir John Forster, who is lately come to Newcastell with 1000 horsemen, to pursue them, and to advertise my L. Scrope and the Regent of Scotland hereof; and I meane, God willing, to follow with all the diligence I can make, with my horsemen and shott.

My L. of Hunsdon, Mr. Sadler, and I, will meete this morninge at the passage over the river of Teise; and, upon conference of these matters, advertise at more leingth of our resolutions. In the mean tyme, I thought good to write thus much.

* The Earl of Rutland writes to Cecil on the 17th Dec.—"Syr, may yt please you to be advertysed that we have now passed over Tease; and, whereas I was in good hope I shuld have had a quick dispatch of my jorney, I fere now, I go *de malo in pejus;* for, although thes cowardly rebelles have geven us some in Bishoprick, yett must we pursue after them in to a could, baren countree, which wyllingly I wyll do now, hoping to see Barwick, which I have so much longed to see: and so I committe you to the tuicion of Almighty God. From Eghinton (Heighington), betwene Durham and Darnton, the 17th of Decembr, 1569"—*Orig. S. P.*

My L. of Warwick and my L. Admirall were yesternight at Rippon and Boroughbrig. In hast at Smyton, (Smeaton,) 4 myles from Darneton, 17 Dec. 1569, at two in the morninge.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 18th Dec. 1569.

Sir,—I receyved even now advertysment from Sir John Foster, wherby I perceyve the rebelles be this daye passed over the ryver of Tyne, at Exam, and do bend towardes Alnwycke;* wherupon I alter my jorney to mor-

* A copy of a proclamation exists, *(Cotton MS.)* made probably by Sir John Forster, dated the 18th November, stating that secret warning had been given to the Earl of Northumberland's servants to be in readiness, on an hour's notice, in their "defensible array;" and that great numbers of persons have been put into Alnwick and Warkworth Castles, who are suspected to be placed there contrary to the Queen's peace, &c. Every person is therefore ordered to depart from the said Castle immediately. —"And if any person or persons do, after this proclamacon, either kepe themselves in readines to serve the said Earle, or any other in her Majesties country, or do kepe and remaine in the Castles aforesaid, or in any of them, that then every such person or persons so offendinge, or breakinge of this proclamacion, to be taken, knowen, and used as a traytour against her Majestie, in all respectes, intentes, and purposes." And Holinshed gives an interesting account of the surrender of Alnwick and Warkworth to Sir John Forster *(History of Scotland, p.* 397*)*.—"He made proclamation before the Castell gate, that everie of them within the Castell should come foorth and withdraw to their owne houses, upon paine to be reputed rebels to the Queenes Majestie; and that which of them soever did refuse to obeie this proclamation, staienge either in the Castell, or elsewhere in anie unlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for everie man to spoile his goods, and him to kill, if he made resistance. This proclamation, notwithstanding, they within the Castell at the first refused to yeeld it up. And, thereupon, Sir John Forster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the Earle of Northumberlands tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And comming herewith backe towards the Castell, they within, perceiving themselves destitute of succor, and Sir J. Foster to increase in power, did, upon better advise, yeeld themselves unto him; who saved all their lives. After the same manner he got also the Castell of Warkewoorth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men."—*Holinshed's Hist. of Scotland, p.* 397.

By Holinshed's account, it would seem that the surrender of the Castles took place before the Earls left the County of Durham; but Sir John Forster writes to Cecil, 21st Jan. 1569-70, as if the capture had just been made—"getting to my hands the two Castells of Alnewick and Warkworth, which I obteyned with some difficultie, by reson that they were garded with a good number of armed men of the Earles servants and tenants."—He then requests that the Stewardship of the Castles and lands may be conferred upon him.—*Orig. State Papers.*

rowe from Exam to Newcastell, or further, as I shall understand cause from Sir John Foster. Yf the rebelles should torne their coursse towardes Cumberland, I dowte my L. Skropes force; and therfore I do to morrowe retorne Symond Musgrave to him, with the 400 horsmen he browght from thens. And, to be playne with you, I am glade I have suche occasyon mynystered; for, althoughe himself be of suche honesty and redynes of servyce as I muste commende, yet were his pepell suche spoylers, as trewly I thought the companye cowld not spede well wher they were, and he was gretely ashamed that no trobell he cowld take cowld helpe it.

This contrye, rather for fere then for good wyll, hathe well aunswered my commandment for bryngyng in of horses; so as I truste to have 400 harquebuzyers sett on horses before to morrowe at none, wherby I maye followe with more spede.

By the nexte messenger from Sir John Foster, I shall understand certenly whiche waye they wyll bend ther course; and therupon I wyll wryte joinctly of that and all other matteres promysed in our letters dated yesterdaye.

The Mayer of Hartelpole was with me this daye, to bryng me woord the rebelles were fledd from thens. Bere with me in wrytyng confusedly, for I have many thinges in hande, and wryte in haste. This 18 of December,* 1569, at mydnight.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 19th Dec.

Sir,—At my cummyng hether this nyght, I understode from Sir John Foster, that the rebelles, apon a skyrmyshe betwene ther skowtes and his skowtes, were retorned to Exham, and remayned ther this daye, at on of the clocke; so as I intend, God willing, to sett forwardes towardes

* T. Sutton writes from Darlington, 18th Dec.—"The rebells fled yesternight from Durham to Hexham, accompanied with their horsemen; only having discharged all their fotmen, and willed them to provide for themselves."—*Orig. S.P.*

Exham to morrowe, at 4 in the mornyng, and wyll remove them of ther lodgyng, or make them paye derly for it; and so wyll followe ther fotesteppes whersoever they flye, over hylles, wastes, or waters, untell I have ether geven them the overthrow, or put them owte of the realme. I have this nyght dispatched to the Regent, to haste him to the Borderes. Sir Henry Gates remaynethe at Hartelpole, with 300 men. Sir George Bowes hath put 100 men into the Castell of Duresme, for kepyng of prysoners rebelles, under his charge as Marshall. And for that my L. of Warwyke and my L. Admyrall do kepe ther hole forces together, I have taken order to discharge all fotemen levyed under my rule, savyng the garrysons in Hartelpole, Duresme, and Yorke; for that I see this matter requyreth not the servyce of those fotemen. And herby I truste you see I waye the matter more than particuler respectes, when I can be contented to discharge an army levyed by myself in my awne rule; whyles an other army, levyed by others, remaynethe within my rule uncassed.

At my cumyng to Exham we wyll wryte joyntly. In the mean tyme, I skrybell this to you. From Newcastell, the 19 of December, 1569, at mydnyght.

Youres assuredly,

T. Sussex.

Good Mr. Secretary, remember to send money, for the which Mr. Saddeler hathe often wrytten.—*Orig. State Papers.*

Sir Thomas Gargrave to Sir W. Cecil, 19th Dec. York.

My dewty humble consyderyd to your honor: Yt may please the same to be advertysyd, that, upon Fryday last, at nyght, the rebelles beynge at Durysme, and herynge of the commynge of my L. of Sussex L. Leutenant here, towardes Darnton, dyd in that nyght dysperse theyr fotemen to theyr owene adventures; and they, with theyr horsmen, as my sayd L. wrytyth, fled over the wastes to Exham. After whome, or to mete with them, Sir John

Forster, beynge at Newcastel with one thowsand horsmen, ys gone with the spede he may. The L. Scrope also, with the power of his wardenry, ys in redynes to mete with the rebelles; and the Regent, as yt ys sayd, yf he kepe promes, ys on the frounters with 1000 horse, to enconter them;*

* For the following copies, or abstracts, from the Register of the Privy Council, shewing the ostensible acts of the Regent Murray, the editor is indebted to the friendly consideration of Thomas Thompson, Esq. Unfortunately the registers from the end of December to 1573 are no longer in existence:—

"Apud Edinburgh, 14 Dec. 1569.

"For samekill as the quiet and peciabill state of governament quhairwith Almichty God hes blissit the realme of England, during the regnne of the present maist gracious and virtuous Quene thairof, hes, of lait tyme, bene partlie troublit, throw the tressonabill conspiracy and seditious uprore of certane subjectis in the north partis of the same quhilkis, pretending diverse and mony occasionis to excuse and cover thair unnaturall defectioun fra the obedience of thair native Soverane, hes nocht onelie presumit to erect the papisticall religioun in the boundis quhair thai have reparit, bot alsua hes rasit the face of oppin weir aganis thair awin cuntrie people and nixt nychtbouris; berevand thair gudis and substance, conqueist be thair trew and honist labouris, and exponand the same in pray amangis thame, in quhilk licencious and detestable doying, seing thay can nocht langer proceid, a sufficient power being in full reddines, nocht onlie to restrene thame fra forder forraying and distructioun of the cuntre, bot als to overthraw and suppres thair force and cumpany. Thay have retired thameselfes bak, of purpois, as is conjectured, and as is cum to the earis of my Lord Regentis Grace, seing all hoip of succour within thair awin native cuntre is takin frome thame, to pas to the seyis; and thair ather to pluk and use piracie upoun the trew marchandis, usand thair lawfull traffique, and to spoyle thame of thair weill win geir, as thai have put in practize in the partis quhair thai have reparit during the tyme of this commotioun; or than, as disparat men, to reteir thameselffis to forayne cuntreis, to eschew the dew punisement of thair deserving, and to provoke strangearis to invaid the quiet state of this haill Ile. Quhairfoir my Lord Regentis Grace, with avise of the Lordis of Secret Counsall, ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes, shereffis in that part, chargeing thame to pas command, and charge all and sindry maisteris, skipparis, and marinaris of all Scottis schippis within this realme, or ony belangand to the same, or dominionis thairof, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to ressave within thair schippis, crayaris, or boittis, under quhatsumevir pretense or cullour, ony of the saidis rebellious Englismen, troubluris of commoun weill and quietnes, for careing and transporting of thame to quhatsumevir uther cuntre or natioun, or haif intelligence with thame in ony sort, under the pane of tressoun; with certificatioun to thame that dois in the contrair, thay salbe repute, haldin, estemit, and demanit as traitouris and commoun inymeis to our Soverane Lord and his authoritie and commounwelth of this realme, and persewit, thairfoir, with all rigour in exempill of utheris."

and my L. of Sussex, with the horsmen and shott, ys gone after them. I do wyshe they should be mett with all, lest they make a longer troble of yt; for, as I here ther ys some mutyney or gruge again in Scotland at this present; and, as yt ys thought, wrought by our rebelles, and sayd that they mynd to repayre theder yf they can, and to joyn with the Scotyshe Quenes frendes ..... Yf the rebelles ather passe into Scotland, or over the seis, theyr returne ys to be preventyd, as may be; and yf the Bushopryke of Durysme be kepte with some small garyson of horsmen and shott, I knowe no place els where wheryn they may gett any sudan ayde.—*Orig. Calig. B. IX.* 393.

Secretary Cecil writes to Sir Ralph Sadler on the 20th (from Windsor), enclosing the Queen's letters, to shew "how ernest she is, to have you to take care how to diminish hir charges, wherwith she seemeth to be much greved." He further states, that he has just heard from Lord Sussex that the rebels are gone to Hexham, and adds, "It were pitte but some of those rascalls wer hanged by martiall lawe; but for the rycher wold be but taken and attaynted, for otherwise it is doutfull how the Quenes Majestie shall

"Apud Edinburgh, 18 Dec. 1569.

"Forsamekill, &c. &c. Quhairthrow mony gentilmen and trew men have bene heriit, &c. and thair gud is exponit in pray to the saidis rebellious people, quhilk thay have usit at thair licencious appetite, without feir of God, or reverence of thair native Soverane, &c. &c. hes withdrawin thameselffis towardis the bordouris of this realme, tending, as weill apperis, to entir with displayit baneris, in weirlike maner, within the same, &c. &c.; ordanis letteris to be direct chargeing all and sundry our Soverane Lordis leigis, betwix sextie and sextene zeiris and utheris fensabill personis, &c. &c. to pas furthwart, and meet my Lord Regentis Grace at Peblis, upoun Twysday, the twenty day of December instant, &c.; and to remane and attend upoun him, &c. for resisting of the invasioun and entering of the saidis rebellious and seditious Englismen in this realme, &c. &c."

have any forfeture of ther lands or goods."—*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 69.

On the same day, Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler, write from Hexham, that the rebels were yesternight at Bramton and Naworth, which they have left; and they know not whither they are gone.—*S. P.*

Sir R. Sadler writes to Cecil, "We came hither this night with a nomber of werye horses, for the wether is extreme of frost and snow; so that we are forced to rest to-morrow all day, which can bee no hindrance to this service, for we know not where the rebells are."—*Orig. S.P.*

And Lord Hunsdon writes, "We ar heare in Hexam —myserable cuntrey—and we have very hard wether of snow and frost."—*Orig. S. P.*

Lords Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sir R. Sadler to the Queen, 22nd Dec.

It may please your moste eccellent Majestie: We received yesterday certen intelligence, which is also this last nighte and this morning confirmed, that th Earles rebelles, with their principall confederates, and the Countes of Northumberland, did, the 20th of this present, in the night, flee into Liddesdale, with about 100th horse: and there remaine under the conduccon of Blacke Ormston, one of the murtherers of the Lord Darnley, and John of the Side, and the Lords Joke, two notable theves of Liddesdale; and that the rest of the rebelles be utterly scaled, and many of them taken, by good numbers, in severall companies.

We have also written to the Lord Scrope to apprehende all the rebelles that may be founde to be fledd into his office; and to make proclamation, that every person that hath taken any of them, or knowe where any of them be, do bringe them forth to him, or discover where they be.

We have also sent for the said Lord Scrope, to be here this night, to th ende we might conferre with him and Sir John Forster of all matters fitt to be done for the prose-

quieting of this service, and the staye and good order of the hole Borders, which yet remayne quyet: and when we have done our full duties in all martial cawses, we will procede to doo justice upon the offenders.

God graunte your Majestie continuall victorie against all, in all places that shall ympugne your feliciowse estate; send you long lyfe and a prosperowse raigne; and guyde your feete in the pathewaye of his holie worde, which hetherto hath defended you from all worldly practizes.—At Exham, 22nd Decem. 1569.—*Orig. State Papers.*

Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cecil on the same day:—"What a fond and folishe ende these rebells have made of their traiterous rebellion. They alwais fled afore us after we cam first within xij myles of them, and we folowed after them as fast as we might, without rest; nevertheless you see how they bee escaped, which they might easily do in this wast and desolat country.—*Orig. State Papers.*

The Earl of Sussex writes to Sir W. Cecil again on the 22nd*, at midnight:—"I have intellygens of suche as were present, and sawe it, that the next morning after the Erles came in to Lydysdale, Martyne Elwood, and dyvers others of the pryncypall men of Lydysdale, dyd rayse ther force agenst th Erles, Blacke Ormeston, and the reste of ther company, and offered the fyght; so as bothe partyes were lyghted, and in the end Marten Elwood sayd to Ormston, he would be sory to enter deadly fewde with him by bloodshed, but he would charge him and the reste before the Regent, for keeping of the rebells of England, yf he did not put them out of the country; and that, yf they were in the country after the next day, he would do his worste agaynst them, and all that mayntained them. Whereupon the Erles were dryven to leave Lydesdall, and to fly to one of the Armstrongs, upon the *batable*, on the

* A large extract from this letter is given, nearly verbatim, in *Cabala*, *p.* 160, entitled "Advertisements from Lyexham" (Hexham), 22nd Dec. sent to Sir H. Norris.

borders betwyn Rydsdale and England. The same daye the Lydersdale men stale* my Lady of Northumberlands horse, and her ij wemens horses, and x other horses; so as when th Earles went away, they left her and all the reste that had lost their horses, on foote, at John of the Sydes† House, a cottage not to be compared to any dogge kennel in England. Such is their present mysery; and at their departing from her, they were not 50 horse, and my L. of Westmorland changed his cote of plate and sword, with John of the Syde, to be the more unknowen."—*S. P.*

Sir Ralph Sadler to Sir W. Cecil, 24th Dec.

S^r^—I do perceyve, by yo^r^ letters of the 19^th^ of this present, that there is ten thousande poundes comyng hitherwardes, to be delyvered to my handes; whereof there shalbe no more issued, ne diffrayed here aboutes thes charges, then must of mere necessite, wherunto you may be sure my L. Lieutenaunt will have good regarde. As sone as my L. understode of the flight of the rebelles from Duresme, he fourthwith, to ease the Q. Ma^tes^ charges, casshed all the northern forces of fotemen; saving 700 lefte at Yorke, for the garde of the cytie for her Ma^tie^, and 300 sent to Hertilpole under the leading of S^r^ Henry Gate. And now his L. hathe also given order for the discharge of those at Yorke, leaving Hartilpole yet for a tyme in garde; and all the said forces of fotemen have ben discharged without money, but w^h^ faire words and assured promise to have full pay at my L. retourne to Yorke, (whiche must be perfourmed,) and therewith the capteynes and souldeours departed well satisfied and contented. His L. also intendeth, for the more ease of her Ma^tes^ charges, to discharge, as we may w^h^ suretie, som of the bandes of horsemen;

* Of Liddisdaill, the commoun theifis,
Sa pertlie steilis now and reifis,
That nane may keip—hors, nolt, nor scheip;
Nor yet dar sleip, for thair mischefis.—*Maitland*

† He is weil kend—Johne of the Syide—
A greatar thief did never ryide.—*Maitland.*

keping suche a convenyent nomber aboutes him as is requesite, so long as we lye on thes borders, and for the tyme that execucion is to be done upon the offenders in o^{r} retourne.

The Erles rebelles and their principall confederates (as I here) do lurke and hide themselfes in the woodes and desertes of Lyddesdale; but, if they tary on the Borders there, Sir Jo. Forster is in good hope to have som of them, or it be long. Th Erles have chaunged their names and apparell, and have made themselffes lyke to the outlawes of Liddersdale. We have to presume and to suspect gretely, that they shall receyve som helpe and comforte of the L. Hume and of the Carres in Tividale; but the greatest feare is, of their escape by the sea, eyther on the Este, or on the West coaste. Order is given here to the capteynes of the Q. Ma^{tes} shippes, to attende well on the Este coaste; and yf you have don any thing for the West coaste, they shall the more hardly escape.

The Regent of Scotland is now nere unto the Borders, and Mr. Cary,* I trust, is w^{h} him, so that we loke howerly to here from them; and there is no doubte but the Regent will do all he can, to gette thes rebelles into his handes.

We have thought it best to remayn here for a tyme; because, although it be the more paynefull to us, the place being nothing pleasaunt to abyde in, yet we fynde it the most apte and convenyent place, both to receyve intelligence with spede, and also to give spedie directions for thes affaires. I am sorry to understande by yo^{r} saide l^{res} that you be not in helthe, which I pray God sende you shortly; and me to go home by yo^{r} good helpe assone as

* George Carey, eldest son of Lord Hunsdon. He served under Lord Sussex; and was knighted by him on the 28th of May, 1570. He received from the Queen, 24th May, 1574, the offices of Steward, Constable, and Porter of the Castle and Lordship of Bamborough, with the fishery of the water of Tweed, &c. (the same as Sir John Forster now enjoyeth,) for him and his heirs male. He was joined with Robert Bowes in an embassy to James VI. in 1582, which he was obliged to leave to the care of Bowes, in consequence of "a righte painfull disease by th abundance of rewme, gotten by coulde."—*Robert Bowes MS. p.* 12. *Letter, Sep.* 30, 1582.

this busyness is ended. At Hexham, 24 of December, 1569,* with the rude hande of yo^r owne most assured

Original, S. P. R. SADLIER.

On the same day Lord Sussex writes to Sir W. Cecil that he thinks the Queen would do well to wait for Sir R. Sadler, before she makes any grants; and Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler, write jointly, that Tristram Fenwick,† servant to the Erle of Northumberland, and Welbury,‡ servant to the Erle of Westmoreland, werein Fernihurst's house. "My Lord of Cumberland, Lord Scrope,§ and Leonard Dacre, have shewn themselves honorable and diligent in ther service against the rebells."

"Edward Dacre, the evening before the rebells scaled, went to them, and brought th Earles with 200 horse to Naworth, from whence they sodenly departed that night, and he with them; which, as we perceive by my Lord Scrope, doth moch dismay and greve Leonard Dacres, who loked for his brother Edward to have repaired to him with the ole force of Gillsland.

* This letter is in *Sadler's State Papers, Vol. I. p.* 70, with several variations. The letters of Sadler, in that valuable collection, so frequently quoted, were printed from the first *very* rough drafts. The official letters bear evident proofs of greater care, and are generally more ample.

† Tristram Fenwick, of Brinkburn, appears in the list of attainders; but he was pardoned in July, 1571,—stated to have been an "accessary to the late rebellion in the North."—*Privy Seal Records.*

‡ Anthony Welbury, of Brancepath, gentleman, attainted, was pardoned at the same time, at the request of the Earl of Leicester.—*P. S. Records.*

§ Lord Scroop left the Castle of Carlisle in charge of the Bishop, on the 14th, and marched with his force into Westmoreland. He writes to Cecil—"On the 19th, I received my Lo. Lts. orders to retorne to my charge with speed, for that the Earles rebells were fledd through Northumberland hitherwards; so as I was forced on the morrowe, with my horsemen, to marche from Wharton to Carlisle, being distant 34 myles: and, on the way, hearing the rebells were come to a town called Branton, (Brampton) nigh Nawarde, and eight myles distant from Carlysle, I sent furth certen skowtes to escrye them ..... , who returned, and declared that Edward Dacres had bene with them and greatlie encouraged them; and had taken and receyved into Nawarde Castle the said two Earles, and others their adherents. Carlisle, 26th Dec."

He adds, that the Earl of Northumberland had the office of Steward of Richmond, which his father and "other" ancestors held; and he wishes to receive it at the Queen's hands.—*State Papers.*

"Sir John Forster hath used great diligence and circumspection in his charge."—*Orig. S.P.*

The Earl of Sussex and Sir R. Sadler to the Queen, 25th December.

It maye please your moste excellent Majestie: This morning we receyved letters from the Regent of Scotland, by Nycholas Errington, whom we sent to him from Newcastell: wherby, and by the reporte of Errington, to whome he delivered credit, we perceyve howe redie and willing he is to do your Majestie all the service he may; which your highnes shall perceyve, by the coppie of his letter enclosed.

Sence which tyme, we be crediblye enformed by Sir John Foster, that th Erle of Northumberlande* was yesterdaye, at one in the afternone, delivered, by one Ecter,† of Harlawe Wood, of the surname of the Armstronges, to Alexander Hume, to be carried to the Regent; whoe had, the

* Upoun the xxv day of the said moneth of December, my Lord Regent convenit with Mairtene Elliot, that he sould betraiss Thomas, Erle of Northumberland, quha wes fled in Liddisdaill, ont of Ingland for refuge, in this maner; that is to say, the said Martene causit Heckie Armystrang desyre my Lord of Northumberland to cum and speik with him under tryst, and caused the said Erle beleive that, efter speiking, sif my Lord Regent wald persew him, that he and his freindis sould tak plane pairt with the Erle of Northumberland. And when the said Erle come with the said Hekkie Armystrang to speik the said Martine, he caused certane licht horsmen of my Lord Regentis, with utheris his freindis, to ly at a wait, and, quhen thaj sould sie the said Erle and the said Martine speking togidder, that thaj suld come and tak the said Erle; and, sua as wes devysit, sua come to pas. And the said Erle being tane under traist, as said is, certane of his assistaris followed and persewed the said Martine and his cumpany, purposing to have releivit the said Erle; and in thair perforce, Capitaine Johne Borthwick, Capitan of my Lord Regentis horstmen, wes slane; and the remanen raid to Hawik, quhairto thaj brocht the said Erle, and thairefter to Jedburgh; quha gat na presens of my Lord Regent quhill the xxvij day of December, at the quhilk tyme thaj wer cumand to Edinburgh.—*Diurnal of remarkable Occurrents, Bannatyne Club,* 1833. *See also* "*The Historie of King James the Sext,*" *p.* 72. *Edinburgh:* 1804.

† False Hector to Earl Murray sent
To shew him where his guest did hide.
Northumberland betrayed by Douglas.

day before, sent the sayed Alexander to Lydesdall, to the Elwoodes and others, for your Majesties service in those causes. We have not receyved herof any intelligence from the Regent; neverthelesse we take it to be very trewe. From Exham, 25 Dec. 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

Lord Sussex writes, on the 25th, to Cecil, from Hexham:—

—— Towching present comoditie, I find that all the forfeitures that by this late rebellion shold growe to the Quenes Majestie in the Bishoprick, will, indede, by the lawes of the realme, fall owt in the ende to the Bishop; which will be too great for any subjecte to receive. And, therefore, before I procede against the offenders that have estats of inheritance, or great wealth, I think it very necessarie that the Q. Majestie shold ether compound with the Bishop, for his royalties, and kepe them still in her handes, or translate him to some other Bishoprick; whereby, *sede vacante*, all might growe to her Majestie.—*S. P.*

Cecil writes to Sadler on the 25th, that—"The vermin be fledd into a forayn covert, where I feare theves and murderors will be the hosts and mayntenors of our rebells, until the hunters be gone; and than they will pass to the seas." He then praises the conduct of Lord Sussex, who hath hard *constructors* at Court.—*See Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 73.

On the 27th Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler write to the Council, that they understand from Sir Henry Gates, and others, who have taken a view of Hartlepole, that it is very ruinous, that the walls are down in many places, and that it is not "gardable" without a great force; and that they will continue at Hexham, until they know the pleasure of the Council.—*Orig. S. P.*

Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cecil on the 27th *(see Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 74*)*, assuring him, that care has been taken, in conformity with the Queen's commands, to diminish her excessive charges; that Lord Sussex had discharged, before he received the Queen's orders, 3,000

footmen; and has since discharged the rest, except 300 in Hartlepool, which he (Sadler) thinks may now also be discharged.

By the L. Lieutenant.

Sir George Bowes*:—Ye may not faile to apprehende all bailiffs, constables, and other officers of townes,

* Whilst Sir George Bowes was closely besieged in Barnard Castle, the rebells took possession of his Castle of Streatlam, and destroyed, or carried away, the whole of his goods, after having committed every possible excess. To repair his great losses, the Earl of Sussex gave him the household goods of the Earl of Northumberland, remaining at Brakenborough and Topcliff; which grant was confirmed by the commander of the Southern army, on the 27th.

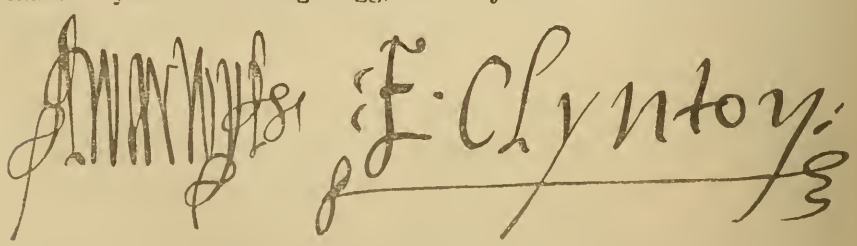
By the L. Lieutenant.

Where we have authorised Sir George Bowes, Knighte, Marshall of the Q. Majesties armie levied in the Northe, to take and receive all such stuffe and other things as did belonge and appertaine to the Earle of Northumberland, now remayning in Brackenbourg or Topcliff, and the lodge. These be to will and comande all other persons, not [to] meddell or take anie parte therof; but to suffer the sayed Sir George Bowes quietly to take and carrie away the same. Dated at Northallerton, the xvith of Decemb. 1569.

T. Sussex."

Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 12.

"Wheras our loving frend Sir George Bowes, Kneght, hathe latlie bene spoyled by the rebells; and that yt pleased the right honorable the Earle of Sussex, Lievetenant Generall of her Majesties armie leavied in the Northe, in consideration of his so great losse sustayned, to graunt unto the said Sir G. Bowes all the household stuffe in Brakenboroughe and in the lodge at Toppcliff, by inventorie, for part of recompence: We, Ambrose, Earle of Warwick, and Edward L. Clinton, Highe Admirall of England, Lievetenants Generall of her Majesties armie leavied in the Southe, do charge and (in her highnesse name) straightlie command all captaynes, soldiars, and all other whosoever, that, on payne of deathe, they use not nor offer unto the said house of Brakenborough, or the lodge of Topcliff, anie force, violence, or outrage; neither spoyle, robbe, nor carie awaie, anie the goods, chattels, or other commodities of the said Sir G. Bowes whatsoever, within the said ij houses contayned, or unto the same belonginge. For more securitie whereof, we have thought good to make this our warrant his protection in that behalf. Gyven at Bourroughbrigg, this xxvijth of Decembr. 1569.



Original, Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 21.

within the Countie Palatine of Duresme; and them to have before us at Duresme, on Saturday next, in the morninge, which shall be the last day of this December. Wherefore, we pray you to exequte the premisses with all diligent secrecie and circumspeccon. Dated at Newcastell, xxviij Decemb. 1569. T. Sussex.

Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 13.

Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler write on the 28th that Mr. George Carey had returned from the Regent of Scotland, who informed them, that the Earl of Northumberland and Thomas Jenny were in his custody.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 28th Dec.

I mean "to passe to Durham, where I intend to remayne some dayes, to take order for such of the comon people as shal be exequuted by the martial law; emongs whom, I meane to exequut specially, constables and other officers, that have seduced the people (under color of the Quenes Majesties service) to rebell; and suche others as have ben moste busye to further those matters, so as ther shal be no towne that hath sent men to the rebells, or otherwise ayded them, but some of the worst disposed shal be exequuted for example: the number wherof is yet uncerten, for that I knowe not the nomber of the townes, but I gesse it will not be under vi or vij hundred, at the least, that shal be exequuted of the comon sorte, besides the prisoners taken in the felde; wherin I truste to use such direction, as no sorte shall escape from example; and that th example shal be (as it is necessary that it shold be) very great, wherein I could not orderly deale, before I had first directed and the former and principall matters. I meane also, if I be permitted, to exequute my office without abridgment, to fyne all others of all kinde of sortes that be offendors, and shall not be exequuted; and therby to raise a comodity to the Quenes Majestie. And herewith, I trust her Majestie will not mislike, that with the goods

of some persons, where I think fete, I rewarde some that have served, as all others in my place, and like cases have done.

I had, before the recept of the Q. M. letters, resolved, with Mr. Sadler, not to exequute the martial law against any person that had inheritance or great welth; for that I knowe the lawe in that case.

I have not yet the boke of all the prisoners; but so sone as the prisoners be brought together to Duresme, which I think will be to morrow, I will advertise thereof.

... I did intend to have sent for Sir Thomas Gargrave, and others with the commission of oyer and terminer; and to have proceded with Mr. Sadlers advise at Duresme, against all that be apprehended in the Bishoprik or Northumberland, becawse the treason was practized and exequuted there.

I do not heare of any of the rebelles escaped by sea; and I think you shall shortly heare that Egremont Radclif shal not escape. From Newcastell, in some hast, the 28th of Dec. 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon writes to Sir W. Cecil, from Berwick, on the 29th:—Yf Northumberlands words be trewe, ther ar a grete sorte of noblemen, and a number of others, that had rysen with them, and ar of this conspiracy, yf yt had not burst out byfor the tyme..... Northumberland avowde also too the Marshall,* byfor the Regent, that the Bishop of Rose† sent a Skotsman too hym and too the rest, wyllyng them, from the Spanish Ambassador, too take Hartlepool; for thythar showld succor cum to them owt of Flanders, whyche was the cawse they tooke ytt. I am not able too gyve cowncell; but, good Mr. Secretary, advyse her Majestie too looke well to herself, and not too thynk all gold that glysters: for yt wyll fal owte to be the

* William Drury, Marshall of Berwick.

† John Lesley, Bishop of Ross; the friend and Ambassador of Mary Queen of Scots.

gretyst conspyracy that hath byn yn thys realm thys hundred yere.

On the 29th Dec. Lords Warwick and Clinton write from Borowbridge to Sir R. Sadler, that the treasure is coming by Mr. Eglonby; that they are in great want of money, and cannot discharge the army; that the only sum they could borrow was £500 from York,* (of which, however, they appear to entertain some doubt;) and that they have lent all their own money to discharge the soldiers.—*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 79.

By a letter of the 30th, from Lord Scroop to Cecil, it appears that he had delivered 218 prisoners,† and had 36 remaining; which he would send in two days to the Spittle, on Stayn More, to Sir George Bowes, or to such other place as might be appointed.—*S. P. Copy.*

* The delay in the arrival of the treasure induced the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Admiral to apply to the Corporation of York for the loan of one or two thousand pounds, towards the payment of the troops; and the Corporation, first, to shew their good will, and secondly, hoping the said noblemen, being Privy Counsellors, might hereafter be beneficial to them, "could not but promise to do to their powers what they could; thinking that, albeit, they were not of habilitie to make up so much as ys required, yet for £500, or thereabout, they might be *bold* to promise, if they had some assurance of repayment."

On the 29th, the Lords Warwick and Clinton write to Sir Tho. Gargrave, that as the Mayor and Aldermen "cast such dowbts of our repayment," they propose, that they shall send a man with the money, to whom they will either give their bond, or keep him until the Queen's treasure arrives; that every day's delay "continueth 6 or 700 pounds charge."

The Mayor, &c. assess themselves: when Humphrey Ellys and George Kitchen, being *quietly* asked for 40 shillings, *stiffly* answered that they would not, except they had *private* security.—*Corporation Records.*

The Queen's treasure at length arrived, and the citizens saved their money.

† Names of the gentlemen prisoners at Carlisle:—Leonard Metecalf of Bear Park, Xpofer Norton, Hen. Phillips, Thomas Hungate, Marmad. Redmayn, Symon Dygby, John Sayer, Laurence Potter, John Fulthorp, Oswen Ogle, Will. Thwates, Tho. Redmayn, George Graye, Will. Smyth, Marmad. Wyvell, Arthur Awdely, George Nevell, Marmad. Norton, Henry Johnson, Rob. Eden, John Markenfeld, Anty Bowmer, John Grene, Hen. Grene, Gerard Salvyn, Will. Slingsby, Will. Holland, John Carnaby, Nic. Mordant, Nic. Fairefax, Tho. Plomtree, a priest and ther preacher. We think there be about 300 prisoners taken within this wardenry.—*S. P.*

On the same day, Lord Sussex writes to the Secretary, from Durham, that "to morow and Sunday, I shal be occupied in the examining of all the cunstables and other officers of this contre, to trye who have ben the chefe instruments to rays the pepell in this rebellion; and upon Thursday, I think to begin the execucon of the meaner sort of the offenders." And the Earl of Sussex and Sir R. Sadler give their orders to the Lords Warwick and Clinton* for having about the person of the Lieutenant, and for assisting the Marshall in the care of the prisoners, 1000 footmen, and four or five hundred horsemen, until the executions are finished.

In Sir R. Sadler's letter to Lord Warwick and the Lord Admiral, 30th Dec. (*Sadler, Vol.* 2, *p.* 82,) he presses the discharge of the Southern army,—that Lord Sussex, after the flight of the rebells, discharged his foot "without money, giving them fayre words, with assured promise to the capteynes of a full pay at his retourne to York," and that he only retains a certain number of horsemen and harquebusiers, for the executions, and for guarding the frontiers.

Lord Hunsdon to the Queen, 30th Dec.

———"Fynding that my being ther" (at Hexham) "did littell service, I retorned hether myself, and the next daie I sent the Marshall heere, to the Regent,† who was then come to Jedworthe, as well to deale with him for the apprehention of the rebelles, as for some other secret intel-

* Lord Sussex held a conference with the commanders of the Southern army, on the 10th Dec. at Sherburn, which appears to have been their only interview. "And when his L. was so fully ready, as he thought he could be, to proceed against the rebells, a letter came on Friday, ix Dec. to confer with the Earl of Warwick and the L. Admirall, wherupon he stayed that night; and sent to them at Doncaster, to meet at Shirburn, where the next day they met. But then, by reason of sickness of the said E. of Warwick, was forced to stay by the way two days or more, and could not proceed with such speed as his L. purposed."—*Cotton MS. Calig. C. I. p.* 359.

† James, Earl of Murray, who was shot on the 23rd of January following, by James Hamilton.

ligence of the disposition of those Borders, towching this rebellion; who is retornid and fyndes the contreye so addicted to them, as if they all had come into Tividale, as they came into Lyddesdale, they had byne succorde, for any thing the Regent cold have done; for generally all sortes, bothe men and women, crye oute for the libertye of ther countrye, which is, to succor banesht men, as themselfes have bynne receved in Inglande not longe sins; and is the freedome of all contrees, as they alledge.

"If the Regent had not bynne there in person, yt had not bynne possible to have had th Erle, or anye of them taken. For th Erle being taken, ther wer practises to have taken him from the Regent agayne; wher uppon he is gone towardes Edenborrowe, wher he will be this night, and th Erle, Gynnye, and certen others of th Erles men with him. And I doubt whether the Regent dare deliver th Erle to your Maj. or no; which, by proff, your Maj. shall see. Your Maj. shall, perhapps, heare of some objections whie they shold not as well keape your rebelles as your Maj. to keape ther Quene, being fled from them. I ame not suer of this, but by proffe ye shall kno; and the soner the better.

"Yf Northumberland be to be credited, though he and the rest bee overthrowne, and though Westmerland wer taken too, the matter is not ended; for, by his sainges, (who nowe telles all) and more to, there is a grete sort of noble men, and a nomber of others that are in this conspiracye, which wold have bynne seene if this had not burst out before the tyme, and ys not unlikelye to fawle out yet, if hit be not well foresene. And therefore, for the love of God, look well to the preservation of your own estate, and call soche abowte your Majestie as are most trustye.

"Ther onlie pretence was, and is, the setting uppe of the Scottishe Quene in your Majesties seate, and the principall workers therof is the Bishoppe of Rosse and Lyddington. Ther partners and confederates in Scotland

dothe nowe appeere, which is, the L. Hewme, Farnehurste, Buckleugh, and Johnston, and Argile is suspected; the onlye men of power in thies partes of Scotlande.

"As your Ma. hathe a care for the preservation of this towne, so I beseche your Ma. thinke of the wekenes of hitt, and lett that which wantes in strenkethe be supplied with a convenient garrison for the tyme, which must be the onlie suertie of hitt; and this your Ma. be suer, that if ther had byne a good garrison heere, eyther this rebellion had not bynne; or, if it had, it sholde have bynne suppresst, and so have saved your Ma. thes great charges that nowe your Ma. hathe bynne att.

"I can not but lett your Ma. understande what dilligence and care Mr. Marshall hathe taken, bothe for the safetie of the towne and contreye, in the absens of soche as wer had from thens, which deserves thankes of your Majestie.

"Thus have I trobled your Ma. with a tedius letter, trusting your Ma. will accept hitt from the good will of him that hath onlie respect to the preservation of your estate, which I praye God long to continewe, to the confusion of all your enemies. From Barwick, the 30 of December, 1569."—*Copy, State Papers.*

Sir John Forster writes from Hexham, on the last of December,* that Robert Collingwood and Ralph Swinnow, with others, were taken in East "Tividale."

* The following "memorial for the Northern rebells," dated 31st Dec. is in the hand-writing of Cecil, and shews how the torture of *hunger* might be employed to advantage:—

Inquisicion.—First, a callender wold be made of all the principal persons that wer knowen to be with the rebells, with ther names and dwelling plaices.

2. Some meanes wold be used to come to the knolledg of every person, of what degree so ever they wer, that was with the rebells in person, or did send any to them, or help any of them with horses, armure, weapon, vettell, or any other relief. Means to inquire this.

Some persons being apprehended, of sondry parts and hundreds wold be comitted to strayte prison, and, being putt in some feare, and therto, also, as nede shuld, being pynched with some lac of foode, and with payne of im-

Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cecil, on the 1st January, from Durham *(Sadler, Vol. II. p. 88)*, commending highly the conduct of the Earl of Sussex; of whom "few Prynces have a greater (treasure) of a subjecte." The Southern army have committed "universall desorder in spoyle, as well of the innocent as of the giltie;" though the houses and lands remain. He transmits letters from Lord Scroop and Sir John Forster, as to "what is become of the principal rebells;" and adds, that the Marshall* has in custody, in the Castle of Durham, "som gentilmen of meane reputation, but the (greater) nomber is yomen and serving men."

Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler write to the Council, on the 1st January, "when we shall have exequuted here such nombers as shall be thought fitt for example, we will comitte to several sure prisons such of the principal offenders as have lands or great wealth, to be tried by the lawes: and will extende her Majesties mercie to some of the servinge men of the meaner sorte, and sett at libertie the rest upon sufficient bonds, to appear at a place and day to receive grace or punishment as shall be then appointed" (the like in Richmond and Yorkshire.)—*S. P.*

The Fyrste of Januarye, 1569.

Prysoners† remaininge in the jayle at Durham, in the custodye of Sir George Bowes, Knyghte, Marshall, under

prisonment, they wold be examyned at soudry tymes, to declare the names of as many as they can remember that wer with the rebells, or that sent them any relief by any meanes; and uppon examinacon of a sex or x such offendors, dwellyng in several plaices, it is lykly the nomber wold be known. In the furder procedyng herein after the heade person may be known, ther wold be at on instant, in on night, an ordre for discret persons being accompanied with some bands of soldiers to apprehende them, and to sease all ther goods, and to take away all ther weapons and armor. In the serch of these, dilligent care wold be taken to apprehend all prests, constables, ballyves, and all other that had any office, and did, in this rebellyon, use any meanes.—*Orig. State Papers.*

* Sir George Bowes.

† Whilst the prisoners remained in Durham Castle, under the charge of Griffeth Kynnaston and his assistants, the gentlemen paid 6s. 8d. a-week for

the Righte Honorable th Earle of Sussex, Lord Levetenaunt in the Northe.

The names of the gentlemen remaininge in the said jayle:—Symond Dickby,* of Bedall, esquier; John Fulthrope,* of Iselbecke, esquier; Henrye Johnson,† of Walton Head, Co. Yorke, esquier. John Markenfeyld,† brother to Thomas Markenfeyld, esquier. Asculte Cleaseby†, gent. Leonard Metcalf,† of Bereparke, gentleman. Robert Lambert,† of Owton, esquier. Robert Claxton, of Wynyard, esquier. Jarret Salven,‡ of Croxdayle, esquier. Jarret Salven, his sonne. Anthony Bulmer, sonne and heyre to Francis Bulmer, esquier. John Sayer,‖ of Worsall, junior. Robert Conyears, younger brother to John Conyers, esquier. Richard Conyears, of Hordon, esquier. John Grene,§ of Newby, esquier. Henrye Grene,§ his brother. Robert Eden, of West Auckland,

their "meat and drink," and the "meaner sort" 3s. 4d. A large proportion were liberated on the payment of fees. On the 25th Jan. the following were sent to York:—"Wylliam Holland, Xpofer Norton, Marmaduke Norton, Wyll. Slingesbye, John Markendale (*felde*), Henry Johnson, Rychard Sowlbye, Symond Dygbye, John Fulthrop, Leonard Metcalf, Thomas Holmes, Nycholas Slayton, Thomas Wharton, Asculphe Cleasbye, and Robert Penyman."—*Bowes MS. Vol. XV. p.* 92. And the prisoners remaining on the 26th of January, were—Robert Lambart, Richard Conyers, Jarret Salven the elder, Jarret Salven the younger, Robert Claxton, and Cuthbert Story.—P. 91.

* Executed at York 24th March following.

† Condemned, but not executed.

‡ Connected by his son's marriage with the family of Richard Norton. This family being of the "antient faith," would be a sufficient reason for placing them in confinement, or even in the list of rebels. They were still in prison on the 26th of January. Gerrard Salvin the elder, was bur. 28th Feb. 1570-1, St. Oswald's, Durham, "aged."

‖ Lord Sussex writes to Cecil, 8th Jan. 1569-70, that Mr. Sayer, of Richmondshire, hath been in Bernard Castle, with Sir G. Bowes, in all the time of the rebellion; and his eldest son being a verie young man, and servant to the Earl of Northumberland, was with him in the rebellion; and, upon Mr. Sayers earnest sute for the saving of the sons life, I have compounded for his pardon, for the fyne of fyve hundred pounds (if the Q. Ma. be so pleased); which, if he be exequuted, she shold have nothing.—*Orig S. P.*

§ Delivered by Mr. Robert Bowes, upon the promise to pay the next day.

gentleman. George Gray, of Bransebeth, gent. Oswold Ogle,* of Bransebeth, gent. Marmaduke Redeman,† of Thorneton, gent. William Twhayts and John Pearsye, gentlemen ushers to th Earle of Northumberland. Xpofer Norton & Marmaduke Norton, younger sonnes to Rychard Norton, esquier. Wyllyam Smythe, gent. Cuthbert Claxton,‡ gent. Nycholas Morden, gent. Thomas Redman, gent. Bennet Cholmeley,‖ of Welberrye, gent. Rychard Sulby, of Ellerton, gent. Rychard Mennell, of Kylvington, gent. Wylliam Claveringe, of Aude Acres, gent. George Lambert, gent., and Clement Lambert, gent. younger bretheren to Robert Lambert. Willyam Slingisbye, Wyllyam Holland, Lawrance Potter,§ and Robert Pearsey,‡ gentlemen and householde servants to th Earle of Northumberland. Henrye Philloppe, gent. Thomas Holmes, of Hoxdon, and Thomas Holmes, his sonne, beinge tayken at Todcaster, and caryed as prysoners all theyr jorney with th Earle of Northumberland.¶—*Bowes MS. Vol. XIII. p.* 47.

* Delivered to Mr. Robert Bowes without paying fees—*Bowes MS. Vol. XV. p.* 90.

† Nephew to Sir Richard Cholmeley, of Roxby, who writes to the Earl of Sussex in his favour, 9th Jan. 1569, stating, that "he was the Earl of Northumberlands man; and is very young, quiet, and simple; not being able to give counsel, but only following his said master in this his evil enterprise; yet his life remaineth at the Quenes Majestys pleasure."—*Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 415.

‡ Delivered by Mr. Robert Bowes, upon the promise to pay the next day.

‖ The Earl of Huntingdon writes to Lord Sussex in his favour, from Leicester, 10th March, 1569–70, entreating, "if his case be, as I may be bolde to crave pardon for him," that he would extend his favour to "the poor gentleman."—*Cotton MS. Vesp. C. XIV.*

§ Delivered to the Lo. Lt. without fees.

¶ This list contains also the names of Wyll. Mydleton, of S...ell, esquier; John Carnabye, of Northumberland, gent.; Wyll. Payver, of Lud Howse, gent; and Thomas Swynnowe, of Cornell, gent. which names have had the pen run through them; and it is followed by 113 names of minor note, and of the "meaner sort," consisting of yeomen, tradesmen, &c. amongst whom appear James Shaftoo, tanfeyld lygh; Edward Haward, *trompeter;* Henrye Mone, grome of chamber; John Treadcrofte, *porter;* John Metcalf, sonne of Leonard Metcalf; Wyllm. Storisbye, of Toplyf,

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 1st Jan. 1569—70.

After stating that he is so touched in his authority that he is driven to complain, he proceeds to inform Cecil, that "my L. of Warwick and my L. Admiral, entering within the lymits of my commission, by such devises as you beste knowe, have, after the rebells were fledd, drawen ther whole army from Boroughbridge and Rippon to Duresme, saving ther rerewarde, which, when they were almost at Duresme, they sent under the leading of the Lord Willoughby* to Richmont; since which tyme they have, by ther warrants, seised (whiles I lay in service at Exham) all the landes, goodes, leases, and cattelles, that appertayned to any man that was betwene Newcastle and Dancaster; and ther Marshall, Mr. of the campe, and other officers, have dreven all the cattell of the contrey, and ransomed the people in such miserable sort, and made such open and common spoile, as the lik, I think, was never harde of, putting no difference between the good and the badde.

I did, upon the flight of the rebelles, direct warrants to the Sheriffes of Northumberland, the Bishoprick, and Yorkshire, to seize into the Quenes Majesties hands all the landes, goodes, and cattels, of all the rebelles, ther aiders, and assisters, and to apprehend ther persons, and to make perfect bokes therof, and to certifie me with expedicion. And I have received answer from the Sheriffes of Bisshoprick and Yorkshire, that all is seized and spoiled by warrant from my L. of Warwick and my L. Admirall, ther marshall, and others ther officers; so as they have lytle to seise on,

merser; Nycolas Nevell, of Wolsingham, a household servant of the Earl of Westmerland; Cuthbert Storye, of Darlington, *having inheritance;* Rob Byarly, of Corsay, *a freholder;* Henrye Brownebyll, a Lancashire man; Xpofer Cots, of Toplyf, came owte by his owne means; John Bradefurth, a *lackay boye,* pardonet and delivered to Sir George Bowes; Henrye Robinson, servante to Xpofer Lockwood; and Xpofer Jeferason, one of his *hynnes*.

* William Lord Willoughby, of Parham, commander of the rereward.—*Lansdown MS.* 207 *c.* 763. "One of the Queens first swordsmen,—a great soldier, so was he of suitable magnanimity."—*Lloyd.*

and that ther men and others ride daily abowte the countrey seising, and spoilinge, and ransacking at ther pleasures. Wherupon I have geven straite comandment to the sheriffes to exequute ther duties, and have (with the advice of Mr. Sadler) sett forth a proclamation, wherof you shall herewith receive a copie.* And where, in my coming forwardes, I gave two or three protections for securitie of goodes until further order were taken, which my L. of Hunsdon and Mr. Sadler knowe was don apon great respect of charitie, ther Lordships have given warrantes for spoile of the same persons; ther ministers have throwen away my protection, thrust them out of the howse that had it, and made spoile of th oole. And to be short, they have not lefte unto me between Newcastle and Dancaster the order of any one rebelles landes or goods; nether have they left one towne unspoiled where they harde a rebell had been; and none hath done more extremely then my L. Willoughbie, in Richmondshire, who taketh all and leaveth nothing, and driveth more cattell for his owne portion than all the groundes he hath will fede, and yet he is no lieutenant; by which meanes her Majestie hath loste above 10,000 poundes.

Besides this, ther is not one rebell that hath come to them, but they have received him into protection upon their honers, and so have written to me not to deale with them; wher ther never came any to me but I delivered them presently to the Marshall, for example. So as by these meanes the rewarding of service is taken from me within the lymites of my own commission; the people be spoiled miserably; the pardon proclaymed by the Quenes Majesties commandment is (to her dishonour and my shame) no suertie to suche as received it. Her Majestie hath, without cause, ben put to excessive vaine chardge with that armye;

* The proclamation sets forth the mischief produced by parties riding about and spoiling the Queen's subjects, under colour of prosecuting the rebels; whereby the people are brought into great fear, and the Queen defrauded of her "lawful eschets;" and commands the people to obey the Sheriffs only.—*S. P.*

all is spoiled that shold be converted to her profit, and I, a lieutenant, made worse than ther Marshall. All which I truste her Majestie will reforme, and maintaine me in my first authoritie, allowe of my well doings, and defende me from defacing, without deserte.

I know my own authoritie; and that, by my commission, I am the Quenes sole lieutenant of counties and the people in them, and not of an army levied in the North (as it pleaseth them to terme me); and I knowe they be lieutenantes of an army levied out of my commission, wherby they cannot prejudice my authoritie. And suerly I wold not have offered to them, or to any other in like case, the dishonour they have offered to me, for all that they and I be worth.

But to be plaine with you Mr. Secretary, it is of all men that lok into the matter conceived that this is mynistred to pike a quarrell, and that it is but an entrie to other matters; and, therefore, if I weighed not the quiet of my good Quene more then any other matter, I wolde have stopped them from crowinge upon my dunghill, or carienge of one halfpenny owte of my rule.

Liberal spech is used that all be rebelles from Dancaster northward; but if the Quene had not had trewe men here, ther entrie wolde not have ben so easie. And, for my owne parte, I depend upon justice, and deserve thanks for my trewth and service. I do not crave mercie and seke pardon for my offenses; and, therfore, I have, doo, and will depende wholly and only upon the Quene, and I will nether, God willing, hang upon any other mans sleve, nor seke to such vessels as can not hold the water than I can. And if, by any evil persuasion, her Majestie shall be induced to thinke worse of me then I have deserved, I shal be redy to trye my trewth and defend my honor in any sorte against any person her Majestie shall comand. And if therin dishonor be offered to me, I shall be sory for it, but her Majestie shall have the greatest losse, for *in domino confido et non confundar in eternum*. And so I ende, and

leave all to Him that hath never left me; and pray you to imparte as much hereof to her Majestie as you think fitt, for I am not afrayed to have all seen. From Duresme, the first of January, 1569."—*Orig. S. P.*

On the second of January, the Earl of Sussex issued his orders for certain executions* in Northumberland.

On the fourth, he sends the following note to Cecil:—List of persons appointed to be executed in the County of Duresme, 4 Jan. 1569 (70.)—300 and odd be appointed in the County of Duresme to be exequuted by marciall lawe:—

Of the Citie of Duresme, the aldermen† and townsmen, ...	XXX
Of constables, ...	XL
Of servinge men, of the meaner sorte and worst disposition, taken prysoners, ...	XXX
Of townesmen of Darneton, ...	XVI
Of the contrey men appointed to be exequited in every towne where they dwell,.....	CLXXII
Of those that did leape over the walles at Barny Castle,.....	XX
	x x
Whereof, at Duresme,‡	IIII

* His brief order for the execution of nineteen persons, runs as follows:—"Sr George Bowes, ye shall se execution done upon the persons above written, in such places within the Countie of Northumberland as shal be appoynted by Sir John Forster, Knight, L. Warden of the Middle Marches. Dated at Duresme, the second of Januarie, 1569."—*Bowes MS. Vol. XII. p.* 34.

† The names of the parties executed at Durham do not appear in any of the lists; but an alderman, named Sruthar *(Howes' Chronicles, p.* 664*)*, suffered, and Plomtree, a priest; of whom it is stated, in a MS. at Burton Constable, No. 168, that he was "an old Queen Marys priest, and was convicted by due *form* of law, though, as some writers affirm, had mercy offered him, in case he would go to church, which he refused to doe."

‡ In another list the numbers stand thus:—

Of the towne, 30; prisoners, 30; constables, 17	77
At Darneton.—Of prisoners here, 2; constables, 23; of the towne not yet taken, 16	41
To be executed at Barny Castell, that lape over the walls	20

At Darneton,..... XLI
At Barny Castle, ... XX
In towns and villages in the contrey, ... CLXXII

A like exequution* shal be don at Richmond, for Richmondshire, when the Marshall hath finisshed this exequution; but the boke is not yet perfited, nor the number certen.

Like exequution shal be don at Allerton, Toplif, and Thirske, for the North Ridinge; but the nombers be yet uncerten.

Like exequution shal be don at Ripon, Boroughbrig, Wetherby, and Tadcaster, for the West Ridinge; but the nombers be yet uncerten.

Besides the exequution don in the great townes, ther shal be no towne where any men went owt of the towne

To be executed in townes in the country where they dwell..... 172
Sum of all persons to be executed by martiall lawe in the countie of Duresme 305

Bowes MS. Vol. XII. p. 3.

* Similar orders were given to Sir George Bowes, in greater detail, directing where the executions should take place.

At Duresme.—All the constables, savinge the constables of Darneton warde,—all the servinge men of the Bishoprick that shall be exequuted,—the townesmen of Duresme.

At Darneton.—All the constables of Darneton warde,—the townesmen of Darneton.

At Allerton.—All the constables of Allertonshire and Langbarth, the townesmen of Allerton and the servinge men.

At Richmont.—All the constables of Richmontshire, the townesmen and servingemen of Richmontshire.

At Barney Castle.—Such as fledde owte of Barney Castle.

At Ripon.—All the constables of the West Ridinge, savinge Wetherby, Toplif, Boroughbrig, and Tadcaster,—the townesmen of Rippon,—the servinge men of the West Ridinge.

In their owne Townes.—The constables of Wetherbye, Toplif, Boroughbrig, and Tadcaster. The townesmen of every towne.

At Thirske.—The townesmen of Thirske,—the constables of the North Ridinge not before appointed,—the servinge men of the North Ridinge, not before appointed.

In their owne Townes.—The men made owte of every towne in every countie.

The gentlemen and men of welth in every place to be comitted to severall suer prisons.. The rest to be delivered upon bonds, and to appere at a daye appointed.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XII. p.* 13.

to serve the Earles, and continued after the pardon proclaymed; but one man, or more, as the bignes of the towne is, shall be exequuted for example, in the principall place of that towne.

The common people were dispersed when th Erles left Duresme; and, therfore, thexequution is the longer in doing, by reason of thapprehending and examininge of the constables; otherwise the giltie might escape and the ungiltie suffer, and none of the constables that be found faultie be spared.—*Orig. S. P.*

The Bishop writes to Cecil on the 4th January, and gives a melancholy picture of the state of the Bishoprick:—

—— Yf mie presence might doe ani gudd, I wold attend as your wisdom shall think mete or appoint me. The cuntre is in grete mysere; and, as the Shireff writes, he can not doe justice bi anie number of juries of such as be untouched in this rebellion, unto thei be auther quited by law, or pardoned bi the Q. Majestie. The number off offendors is so grete, that few innocent are left to trie the giltie.— *MS. Lansdown*, 12, 29. *Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 95.

Lord Sussex and Sir R. Sadler to the Privy Council, 4th January.

It maye please your good Lordshipps: Understanding that the Regent of Scotland is retorned to Edenboroughe, and that he entendethe to go shortlye to the sege of Donbryton; and that the Lords of Fernehurste and Bocklooghe, by whome th Erle of Westmerlande and the moste of the rebelles be presently relieved, did flye of late from the Regent, and that divers others were confederate with them; and, waying the daunger that maye growe manie wayes if these matters be lingered, we thought convenient to wryte presently our opinions to the Regent in divers matters.

The Regent, as we be crediblye, and we thinke trewly enformed, had so smalle a force with him at Gedwarthe, as

it was convenient for him to retire after he had th Erle of Northumberlande in his custodie.

Buckloughe, Fernehurste, Johnston, and others, have confedered for the keping and releving of the rebelles; and, thoughe Hume have no will to discover himself, yet it is thought he dealithe underhand in that matter.

So long as the principall rebelles be untaken, it wil be convenient to laye garrisons upon the Borders, as well for the defence of them and keping in obedience our borderers, which were not of many yeres in better order then at this present; as also to enter Scotland on the sodden for th apprehending of the rebelles upon good spiall, where they be receyved.

If the Regent be absent at Donbritten, these garrisons maye defend, but they shall little offende, and yet the charge continewe; and therefore, better in our opinions to make present warr in suche sorte as is written to the Regent, and therby to ende the hole by good lyklyhood spedelye, and avoyde all dangers that delaye maye bring, and so ende also the charge, then to contynewe the Border charge a longer tyme, to little purpose; and in the ende to be driven to this, when the tyme of the yere will not be so convenient.

The garrisons nowe remayning under the paye of me, th Erle of Sussex, with a supplye of 4 or 500 fotemen for a tyme, which maye ether be sent from my L. Admirall or levyed, with lesse charge, by my L. of Hunsdon, of trayned men that kepe abowte Barwick and those partes, and maye be cassed apon the service done, without further charge; wil be, with the assistance of the Borders, a sufficient force, in our opinions, to joyne with the Regent for this purpose; and ether to make a shorte ende of this matter, or elles to plage all those of Scotlande that shall take parte with the rebelles.

From Duresme, the forthe of Januarie, 1569 (70.)—*Orig. State Papers.*

On the 5th, Lord Sussex writes to Cecil in commendation of the young Earl of Rutland,* on his leaving the army.

On the 6th, the Queen writes to Sir R. Sadler to diminish her charges to the utmost, compatible with safety. *Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 91.

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 6th Jan.

By the death of my L. of Cumberlande there be two offices in the Q. Ma. dispostion, the one of the Castell of Knaresborough, which is of the Duchie, the other of the Stuardshipe of Rippon, whiche belongethe to the Byshopricke of Yorke. Sir Willm. Ingleby dwellethe nere to Knaresboroughe, and had some directions ther under my L. of Cumberlande, and Sir Willm. Mallorye, near to Rippon. These two gentlemen have served the Q. Ma. as treuly and as chargeably, from the firste suspicion of this rebellion, as any men of there degres have done; and have, from tyme to tyme, delivered to me better intelligence then I have receyved from any others; and they be suche as her Ma. maye rest assewred of there honesties and loyalties. [He then reiterates his request for their appointment.] From Duresme, the 6th of January, 1569 (70.)

* Sir,—I do returne my L. of Rutland, accordyng to your appoyntement; and I have wrytten to the Quenes Ma. howe I have delte with him, and howe I have found him, whereunto I referre you, not dowtyng but by your good meanes her Ma. wyll consyder of him therafter. He is gretely bownd to you; and suerly you have not loste your trobell, nor cast awaye that you have don, for he dothe love and reverence you as a father, and so I perceyve wyll alwayes hold you.

God hath geven him good partes, and you have instructed him in honesty. It were pytye that those two joyned together (which rarely meete) should be suffred to slepe in him for lack of imploying in tyme.

Of late yeres fewe yonge nobell men have bene imployed in servyce, which makethe them ignorante in age; and, therfor, when those ye now have fayle,—as within few yeres, by course of nature, they muste,—your supplye wyl be very bare, and then wytte withowte experyence must dyrecte, which wyll hardely frame well. God send to you as to myself. From Duresme, the 5th of January, 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

On the following day Sir R. Sadler wrote a letter to Cecil, highly commending the young Earl of Rutland.

I send unto you herewith a note* of the landes belonging to the better sorte of the rebelles lying in the Bishoprick; and when the Sherif of Yorke and Northumberlande retorne there certificates, I will also send you the notes of those countyes.—*Orig. S. P.*

On the 7th Jan. Lord Sussex writes to Cecil, that, for many respects, Sir Henry Percy is desirous to repair to Court, now his service is at an end. "He hath bene holly, in my opinion, at the Quenes Majesties devotion in the cause of the Scottish maryage;—redie, with all his force, to serve against them (the rebells); and willing to venture his person with the first."—*S. P.*

Sir John Forster writes on the same day to Cecil, from Hexham:—Trewth it is, the Earl of Westmoreland presently lying in the overmoste chamber in Farnyhurste Tower, and my Lady of Northumberland is lodged in the lowest chamber. Ther is in the Erles companie Francis Norton and other six of the Erles servants, the Welberies, Henry Ridly and others; Old Norton, Markenfield, Egremont Radclyffe, Swinborne, and Tempest. They are all presently with the Lord of Buckleugh, at Branxham.—*S.P.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes.

Sir George Bowes,—For that Sir Henrie Gates is directed by the Q. Ma. to go in to Scotland, I will wryte to my L. Evers and Mr. Layton to mete you at Allerton,

* A note of lands and tenements of the principall rebells lying within the County Palatyne of Duresme, 6th Jan.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Thomas, Erle of Northumberland	39	13	10	William Smith	67	13	4
Charles, Erle of Westmerland	574	8	8	John Trollope	36	6	8
Cuthbert Nevell	3	6	8	Robert Claxton	28	9	4
Gerard Salvine	8	6	8	John Swinborne	49	13	4
Anthony Hebborne	38	0	12	Cuthbert Storie	5	0	0
Rauf Conyers	17	13	4	Thomas Norton	15	0	0
Hen. Parkinson	17	3	4	Brian Palmes	24	0	0
John Gower	3	6	8	John Cusson	4	0	0
W. Claxton	59	18	9	Richard Conyers	9	13	4
				Robert Lambert	18	13	4
				Robert Tempeste	37	17	2

Orig. S. P.

at suche daye as you shall appointe to assist you in th examening of the cunstables and others appointed thether, who also shall take paines with you at Thruske. And, therefore, I pray you appoint your dayes certen, and give them notice therof in tyme, and take order in the meane tyme for th apprehending of cuntstables. Sir Thomas Gargrave hathe I think alredie examined all the West Ryding; so as you maye send to him for a note of his doings, and therby you maye appointe your daye at Rippon accordinglye, and appointe your under ministers to the other townes to make the more expedicon. Fare you hartely well. From Duresme, the viijth of Januarie, 1569 (70.) Yr. assured frend,

Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 21. T. Sussex.

On the 8th Jan. the Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil that Sir Henry Percy had shewn him a letter* from his officer at Tinmouth on which he sent to Sir J. Forster to apprehend Robert Shafto and his father;—that he will send Sir Henry Gates into Scotland:† who is now at Richmond.

* In this letter, from Allayne King to his master, dated at Tynemouth Castle, 6th Jan. he states, that Robert Shaftoe had been at Tinmouth to speak with Sir Henry, and not meeting him, had caused him to write. That the Earl of Northumberland is in Edenborough, attended by James Swyno, William Burton, and others, to the number of sixteen. That the Earl is in great distress and misery for want of money and apparell; and wishes to know what "lyking" the nobility have of his trouble, how his friends are used, and lastly, of his children; and Lady Northumberland also craves his councell. That the Earl of Westmoreland had nearly been betrayed to the Regent; that Robert Shaftoe will stay at his father's house, until he hears from Sir Henry; that Lady Northumberland is destitute both of linen and woollen; and that the Earl had written to Mr. Medcalfe, of Alnwicke, for forty pounds.—*Calig. B. IX.* 400. *Printed fully in Wright's Elizabeth, p.* 350.

† Names of such rebells and fugitives as the Erle of Sussex doth demand of the Lord Regent (by Sir H. Gates):—

The Erle of Westmerland, Christopher Nevell, Cuthbert Nevell, Egremond Radclyffe, Sir John Nevell, Kt. Edward Dacres, Richard Norton, Thomas Markenfield, Francis Norton, John Swinborne, Christopher Danby, John Trollop, Anthony Hebron, Rauf Conyers, Mighel Tempest, William Smith, Brian Palmes, Ralfe Swino, Robert Carre, Robert Collingwood, Tristram Phenick, Thomas Jeny, George Stafford, Anthony Welbury, Thomas Tayler, Sampson Norton, George Norton.—*S. P.*

——"The circuite of my comission is greate, the several places where the prisoners wer taken far distant, the wether extreme, and the contries (except in the botom wayes) unpassable for snow; and, therefore, I pray you beare with me yf all things be not so spedily done here as you looke for there, and as I would; for trewly, as the tyme is, it is an impossibility."

Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 8th Jan. 1569.

My humble dewty, &c. The executions ar done, or wyll this daye, and to morrow be done throwe all the Byshopricke,* accordinge to your L. direction, savinge in a parte of Darneton Ward, where as yet I command; althoghe I have bothe by daye and night cawsed to search their townes, but they be wholye fledd, the names of which townes I send your Lordship in a billet heare inclosed; which be of the worst doyers of the whole country, and lieth, for most part, of the street. But I hope that upon my goynge from Darneton they will draw home, upon whose coming I have taken such order, that I will send of my

* Occasional discrepancies occur in the lists of those who joined the rebels, and of those who suffered in the County of Durham; but from a careful comparison of the lists, which contain various erasures and alterations, the following summary is as nearly correct as possible:—

Joined in Darlington Ward	481	To be executed	99
Easington	66		20
Stockton	212		55
Chester	35		20
Total	794		194

"Over and besydes" the Towne of Durham.

Inhabitants of Durham who joined, 82; Executed	28
Constables in the County	44
Serving Men	34
(William Plumtree, preacher, executed at Durham.)	—
Total number appointed to be executed	300

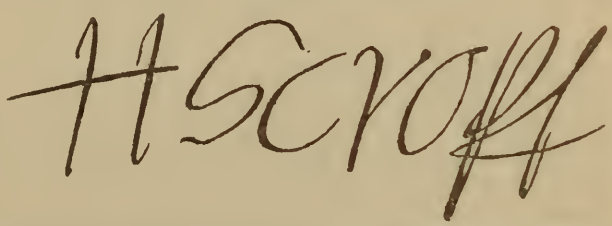
The names of those who joined the rebels offer no interest; for, as the principal rebels had fled, the remainder are almost exclusively of the "meaner sorte." And the only exceptions of any note are Lionell Nevill, at Wolsingham; Michael Trollop, at Bradly; Thomas Nevill, at Rabye; Gerret Salvayne, at East Brandon; and *Hobby, that God sent us,* at Darlington.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XV. p.* 59.

horsemen sodenly; and hopeth, by that meanes, to get them, thinking very convenient that they showld have the harder justiee for their evell dealinge. I have taken such order with thes that dealeth with the goods of thos executed, that they showld deale favorable with the wyfes and children, so as they might onely not have cause to complane, but be satisfyed; and, so far as I knowe, so they are: for in all Darneton, by this composicon, I caused [to] make for me an agrement with the wyfes, cometh but to £viii; for wher I fynde them, and hathe many children I take nothinge at all. And for the more favering of them, I have committed the doyeng hereof to the worshipful neighbours, with instructions to favor the poor, and to deal favorable with all. I have newly taken order for receit of prysoners to be received from the Lord Scrope,* but my servants wayted all a day and night before I got them word what to do: and I humbly desyre to know whether I shall staye thes prisoners

* *Lord Scroop to Sir G. Bowes, 9th Jan.*

After my verie hertie comendacons. Whear I ame dissyred to wryte in the favor of one John Stainton, a prisoner rebell. If it chance he be not fownd a notoriouse offender, but onelye as a follower, then I shall hertelye pray you to be a meane for his lyf; and the rather at this my requeste. The bringer herof, my servant, Browne, will let you understand which he is. I have, with great serch in to Scotland, fownd one Wansforth, a padge to my L. of Westmerland, who my wyf hath staed here to serve hir. And thus I bid you fare well. At Carlisle, this ixth of Januarie, 1569 (70.)

Your assured freind,



Post script. The foresaid Wansforth will not be perswaded to remane with my wyf, *whies* he have spoken with my Ladye Westmerland, his Mrs.; so that with spead I will send him to Bransbye, with Mr. Hegham, my L. Leiutenants servant.—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p.* 22.

On the same day he writes in behalf of Nicholas Comyng, Thomas Comyng, Richard Cowper, Richard Wappes, and Anthony Adston, "if they be such as maye receyve frendship at your hands, without any prejudice or offence."—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p.* 44.

at Barnard Castle or bring them to Richmond, where I fear there will be very strait rowme, for I hear it is very full; and this daye, by x of the clock, by Gods grace, I wil be there. But sewre tyme is convenient to be some what prolonged, for in this cowrse I find the constables, in sundry places, hathe accused thes that did least, and excused the greatest offenders; and many of themselves that denyed before your Lordship to be with th Erles, bothe was with the rebells in all their journeys, and streined the rest to the same by hard words, which I have soght for, but cannot get; for which cause I meane not, from hensfurth, to delyver any of the constables before the justice be ended, and then, if they be clear, to let them passe. I use even that cowrse your Lordship did, and execute none that hathe not both bene of the first jorney and in some of the second jorneys, accompanied with the rebells. And, thus redie to sett [out] towards Richmond, I humbly take my leave. From Darneton, the viiith of January, by viii of the clock in the morninge, 1569.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 35.

Lord Hunsdon writes on the 9th,* from Berwick, to the Regent (*Haynes, p.* 573), that notwithstanding his "straight proclamation," the Earl of Westmoreland† and

* 9th January. A list of the names of such as the Erl of Warwick and the Lord Admiral have received into their protection:—

Will Hodhson, Geo. Curtpeny, Will. Claxton, Nic. Fetherstonhaugh, John Emerson, Geo. Birkaine, Christ. Shawe, Henry Lyttell, Martin Jackson, Raufe Pekering, Rauff Newball, Raver Anderson, Trynyan Watson, Hen. Killinghall, Ant. Arrowsmith, Gyles Goland, Ant. Coyttsworth, Water Bankes, Chr. Atkinson, Raufe Newbie, Will. Banks, James Wood, Raufe Dodsworth, Tho. Warde, Tho. Mabson, John Averie, Ric. Dodsworth, Martin Wake, James Amors, John Corneforth, Rob. Smeton, Peter Crathorne, Geo. Crathorne, John Robinson.—*S. P.*

† In a letter from the Regent (Murray) to the Lord Lieutenant and Sir R. Sadler, 14th January, he writes—"I have sent a trusty servand and secrete messenger to perswade them (Farnyhurst and Bucklew) to render in my hands the Earl of Westmerland and th other hir Majesties principal rebells being in ther bounds; with promise not only of oversight and impunitie, for bipast evil behaver, but to make them assurance of large gud deid and reward: and hes willit my servand to travell with the twa Lordis principall frends for the same end." He adds, "I deme youll not to thinke it

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

others are openly kept at Farnehurste, Branxam, and Bedrowlie, &c. and that "uppon Thursdaye night last the Countess of Northumberland was brought by Farnehurste towards Hewme Castell, and was fayne to staye by the waye att Rocksborrowe, by the sorenes of the wether (being a greate storme), so as it was eight of the clock on Fridaie morning, or she came to Hewme, and is ther yett, onlesse this daie she be convoyed to Fauxe Castell."

On the 10th January Cecil writes that the Queen is not satisfied with the scanty communications she receives, and that "she is a stranger to her own cause."—*S. P.*

On the same day the Queen directs Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sheriff of Yorkshire, to seize the rebells lands and goods.—*Copy, S. P.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 10th Jan.

Sir George Bowes,—I have sett the nombers to be executed in every towne, under the name of every towne,*

strange, althoughe it sal be reported, that the Countess of Northumberland is in Hume Castell; for trew it is, that at my being in Jedburgh, hearing of hir great miserie and inhumane usage be the outlawes and theves, I declared to the contrymen that I wold not take in evell part whosoever resset hir, making me privie therunto."—*Copy, S. P.*

* This *fearful* order is written on the last page of a thin paper book *(Bowes MS. Vol. XIII.)* containing "The information of the constables of Richmond and Richmondshire, geven to Sir George Bowes, Knyght, Provost Marshall in the Northe parts, of all suche as did joyne theymselfes with the rebells at any tyme duryng the rebellyon, within theyr several constableryes." Under the list of those who joined from each town or village, the Earl of Sussex has written the number to be executed; and a general statement is given for each Wapentake (in another hand), as follows:—

Joined in Gilling West	141	To be executed	30
In Hang East	241		42
In Hange West	293		47
In Halykeld	341		57
In Gilling East	225		37

The book concludes with the following summary:—

The totall nombre which joyned theymselvefs with the rebells within the liberties of Richmond and Richmondshyre	1241
The totall nombre appointed to be executed	213
Servyng men appointed to be executed in Richmondshyre	18
The totall nombre appointed to be executed in Richmondshyre	231

as I did in your other book, which draweth nere to two hundred; wheryn you maye use your dyscretyon in takyng more or lesse in every towne as you shall see juste cause for the offences and fitness for example, so as in the hole you passe not of all kynd of such, the nomber of two hundred: amongst whom you maye not execute eny that hathe freholds, or noted welthye; for so is the Quenes Majesties plesier, by her specyall comandment. 10th January, 1569. T. Sussex.

Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. XIII. p. 33.

The Earl of Sussex and Sir R. Sadler to the Queen.

It may please your moste excellente Majeste. We received this morning your highnes letters of the 6th,* together with lettres from the L. Admiral of the 9th,† and a copie of your Majestes letters to his L. of the 9th. And having the nighte before made Sr. Henry Gates depeache towardes Barwik, with instruccons in all thinges agreable to your Ma. pleasure, signified in this letter, savinge for that appertayneth to the Marshall of Barwick, we will presently write to my L. of Hunsdon and Sr. Henry Gates of your pleasure therin.

Upon the consideringe of your Ma. saide letters, we were in doubte how to resolve; for that on th one side we see no necessarie cawse to continew any guarrisons upon the Borders for any matter that doth procede, or is probably like to procede from Englande; and, on th other side, not knowing what your Ma. will resolve apon our letters of the 4th, and conference with the Regentes servaunte now attending apon your Ma. in respecte of the confederacie advertised to be in Scotlande; and knowinge that if your Ma. sholde determine to have any force of fotemen sente to the Borders, and that they were, before your resolucon knowen, dispersed, they sholde hardely be gathered againe in shorte time; we have resolved to dischardge so many as

* Sadler, Vol. II. p. 91. † Sadler, Vol. II. p. 105.

we thinke may presently be spared apon the Borders, and to retaine there, and of my L. Admiralles bandes so many as we think sufficient to serve for any service that presently may be don in Scotlande, upon any resolucon that your Ma. shall take upon our letters of the 4th, and conferens with the Regentes servaunte. And, for that the martial exequution is this daye fynisshed in the Bisshopricke and Richmontshire, and that the Marshall goeth to morow into other partes of Yorkeshire, we have dischardged all the horsemen and fotemen that were allowed to him, savinge 60 horsemen, which also we meane, within 4 dayes, to discharge: so as besides the guarrisons apon the Borders, and the 300 shott to be lefte by my L. Admirall, ther remaynеth onely the horsemen appointed abowte me, th Earle of Sussex, duringe my abode here, the certen nomber wherof I will also advertise to morrow, and as I presently thinke, be abowte 200.

We have received onely £1500 for the paye of your Ma. army, under the leading of me, th Earle of Sussex, of the £10,000 last sente.

And so we shall praye to God longe to continewe your Maj. in a prosperouse raigne. From Duresme, the 11th of January, 1569.

Your Ma. moste humble and faythfull subjectes and servauntes.

T. Sussex, R. Sadleir.

Orig. State Papers.

On the same day the Earl of Sussex and Sir R. Sadler write to Sir John Forster:—"My Ladie of Westmerlande hathe made greate suete to us, to have licence to send a letter to her husbande,* which we have perused, and finde that there is nothing in it but an advise to submitte himself to the Q. Ma. marcie. And althoughe we thinke little fruet will come thereof, yet, for that we maye use the same to

* See Appendix.

gett us some certen intelligence wher the Erle doth presentlye remayne, we have agreed to the sending of her letter, and do send the same to you enclosed; praying you to chuse suche a sufficient messenger for the carying therof to th Erle, as maye at his retorne, bring you certen intelligence, where th Erle and all others of the rebelles remaine.

And if th Erle will write anie answer, you shall will your servaunt to receive it and to bring it to you, and you shall send it to us, to th ende we may consider whether it be fitt to be delivered or deteyned, and so advertise the Q. Ma. of the hole. And so we bid you hartily well to fare. —*S. P.*

On the 12th, Sir Ralph Sadler sends enclosed to Cecil a long letter from Robert Constable, of whom Sir Ralph speaks with great disparagement; who came to him at York before the army marched against the rebels. Constable told him, he was sent by Lord Leicester and Sir Walter Wildmay, and that he had promised to go amongst the rebels for intelligence; and, after the flight of the rebels, offered to go to Scotland; where he might, percase, "worke som feate to betrap some of them." And that he did "anymate" him to proceed. (*Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 109.) Constable's letter states that he had been to Farnehurste, and had seen the Earl of Westmoreland and seven of his servants, viz. Anthony Welbery, John Welbery, Thomas Watson, Henry Rydle, John Ridly, Tryp, and Shaw. "My Lord enquered of my news: I shewed hym a byll of so many persons nams as was at Durraim, almost to the nomber of 280: I towld hym ther was almost so many moo at Hexham." He said, Lady Northumberland had just gone to Hume Castle; and that himself had been narrowly looked for by the Regent. Constable went to Cavers, and saw Mr. Richard Norton, who enquired concerning his sons William, Christopher, and Marmaduke; and rejoiced that they were living. Norton told him of the disordered departure from Naworthe, and said, "yf the Quenes Majestie

understood truly Mr. Lenerd Daykers part, from the beginning of the woful enterpryce unto the end, she wold hange* him above all the rest."—Constable† advised Norton

* Printed in Sadler "thanke,"—an error of the press, tending to a widely different conclusion.

† Robert Constable, whose letters, in Sadler's State Papers, shed such a painful interest over the history of the fugitives whom he endeavoured to entrap, was not the only person employed by the Queen to take advantage of the unsuspecting confidence of the rebels.

As to the ship is anchor and table,
So to thy friend be thou, Constable.

Knight's MSS. Caius' Col. Camb.

Sir Marmaduke Constable, the elder, of Flamborough, Knight, great grandfather of Robert, called "the little," was a brave and gallant soldier, and accompanied Edward IV. and Henry VII. into France; and was at the winning of Berwick, and was made first Captain of that important fortress, where (according to his epitaph) he

——"rewled and governed ther his tyme, without blame,
But for all that, as ye se, he lies under this stane."

At a very advanced age, he held a command at Flodden; and Henry VIII. gave him the monastery of Nuneaton, in reward for his gallant services.

On the marriage of his grandson, Sir Marmaduke, son and heir apparent of Sir Robert, with Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Darcy, (whose portion was 800 marcs) he made a settlement (5th Henry VIII. 1513) that, after his decease and the death of Sir Robert Constable, the manor of Holme, should go to Sir Marmaduke, the younger, and his issue male; which deed was further confirmed 6th Henry VIII. Sir Marmaduke, the elder, died 10th Henry VIII. 1518. Sir Robert joined with his son, Sir Marmaduke, (24th Henry VIII. 1532) in settling the estate on Robert, son to Sir Marmaduke, on his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, (whose portion was 1000 marcs) after the respective deaths of Sir Robert and Sir Marmaduke.

Sir Robert joined Lord Darcy, in Askes rebellion; and, by the King's order to the Privy Council, he directs, "for th example of others, to have Constable, whiche was a principal traitor against us, and kept the towne of Hull in tyme of the late rebellion, executed and hanged in cheynes at Hull." *(Depositions, &c. Chapter House, Westminster.)* He was accordingly executed at the Beverley Gate, and attainted.

Sir Marmaduke, his son, (who is stated to have done good service to the King, at Haddington,) probably suspected of, or implicated in the treasons of

and his son, Francis, to come to England; but, happily, they did not trust themselves to his protection. Old Norton

his father, released all his right in the family estate to Henry VIII. (14th Feb. 31st Henry VIII.); and thus placed the Crown in possession for the term of his life,—but with a formal declaration, of the right of his son to the inheritance after his decease.

He died 28th April, 2nd Elizabeth, 1560; and, on his death, the Crown was bound, in justice, to deliver the estate to Robert, his son; as the inheritance could neither be forfeited by the treason of Sir Robert, nor could Sir Marmaduke resign more than his life interest. The Crown, however, retained undue possession. The claims of the legal representative were unheeded, and it may fairly be presumed, that the unworthy conduct he pursued towards his friend and relation, the Earl of Westmoreland, was the price fixed for the restoration of his right. It may charitably be concluded, that his necessity, and not his will, compelled him to undertake the vile mission of a spy; which he declares to be "a trayterous kind of service that I ame wayded in, to trap them that trust in me, as Judas did Christ." *(Sadler, Vol. II. p. 122.)* And, in corroboration of the foregoing surmise, shortly after the rebellion, on the 24th March, 15th Elizabeth, on his offering to give up all claims for arrears of rent, timber fallen, &c. to the amount of £2341, the estate was not restored to its rightful owner; but a lease was granted by patent, March, 1573, to Michael Fenwick, (who was either a son, or a near relative of his second wife) and W. Mawborne, for 31 years, to the use of Robert Constable, at a reserved rent of £113 9s. and to his heirs male. *(Privy Seal Records.)* By another patent, 24th Elizabeth, the estate is settled on Robert Constable after the expiration of the lease; but on his death, without male heirs, then the remainder of the lease and the reversion of the estate are vested in Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay. This additional act of injustice was reversed by patent, 27th Elizabeth, vesting the estate in Robert Constable, Jun. and his brother, Fancis (who died young), and giving the reversion to their father.

Letters are extant at Holme, shewing that Robert (the spy) was oppressed with pecuniary difficulties; and, in one to Lord Burghley (without date), after many apologies for not calling upon him, from the fear he entertained of his creditors, "being overwhelmed with up heped detts," he adds, "yf I myght understand that you wold have me now to wayte of your Lordship, I wold quyckly repare unto your Lo. all feare of dayngers sett apart; for at neyd I wyl be ryddye to hassard lyff and lyving in your Lo. serves, dewrynge my lyff, mor wyllinglye then to abyde at home." Yet his home would hardly appear to have been the abode of peace; for, if the heralds (Vincent and le Neve) are to be credited, he married to his second wife (even while his first was living,) Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Widdrington, Knight, and relict of Sir Roger Fenwick. In a manuscript at Burton Constable, No. 52, entitled "Proofs of the Pedigree of the Constables, of Flamburgh, by Mr. John Archer," copied by Philip Constable (with some additions of his own, 1656) Robert (the spy) is stated to have died in 1591; and his second wife was buried on the 23rd Sep. 1583, "Lady Dorothy Fenwick, wife of Robert Constable, Esq." *(Flamborough*

told him that Egremond Ratcliff, Sir John Nevill, John Swinburn, and Mr. Markenfield, were received at Branx-

Register.) Robert, his son, was a page to Lord Burghley; and married Anne, daughter of John Hussie, of Duffield and Worswich. He had a son, William, born 22nd Feb. 1590; and, on this occasion, he requests his master, Lord Burghley, to be his Godfather; who, in a letter to Edward Gates, of Seamer, Esq. preserved at Holme, says—"I understand by my servant, Robert Constable, that it hath pleased God to send him a sonne, whereof I am verie gladd, and, according to his desier, verie willing to christen it, and to give it my own name; but, because I can not doe it in my owne person, and, therefore, am to use the help of another, I have made choice of you, as my good frend and his good neighbour, to supplie my place. And, therefore, I pray you, when you shall have knowledge given unto you of the tyme, that you will take the paynes to repaire to his house and perform the office for me: and, further, to bestowe uppon the nurse and midwife xxs. As to the child, I meane, at some better leisure, to provide a token to bestowe on him, as remembrance of me. And soe I bidd you hartlie farewell. From the Courte, at Greenwiche, this iiij of Marche, 1590, your lovenge frend, W. BURGHLEY." The child was, accordingly, baptized by the name of William, 4th March, 1590. *(Flamborough Register.)* Robert, the father, of whom little appears, but who was probably a soldier, and knighted by the Earl of Essex, in Dublin, in 1599, by inq. p. m. held at Market Weighton, County of York, 3rd of November, 42 Eliz. (1600), it appears that he died on the 30th of Sep. 1600, at Duffield; and that the patent of the 27th of Elizabeth, gave him the estate of Holme. His widow, Lady Anne, was living, and his son and heir, William, aged nine years and seven months. This son was created a Baronet, 29th June, 1611; but the estate, which seems never to have descended in a direct line, was again diverted by James I. who granted it in reversion to the Earl of Kellie, in April, 1622, "with power, that upon payment of xs. into the Exchequer, to his Majesties use, he may vest the same in him and his heirs for ever, under such rents and services as were contained in former letters patent."—*Priry Seal Records.* This resumption on the part of the Crown appears unwarrantable and unjustifiable, and naturally produced the worst results. Six years afterwards, in July, 1628, a grant and assurance of the manor of Flamborough Holme, was made to Sir William Constable and his heirs, under the former rents, tenures, and services as heretofore, *with the consent of the Earl of Kellie,* to whom his late Majesty granted the said manor and lands after the death of the said Sir William Constable without heirs male. This last grant was under sign manual. But it is easy to conclude, that this tardy act of justice had its effect on Sir William; who, on his first entrance into public life, was a Royalist, and afterwards deserted the cause of Royalty. Sir William Constable immediately sold this estate, which had caused so much misery in his family, to Sir Marmaduke Langdale (Lloyd says for £26,000), in whose family it remained until the death of the last Lord Langdale; who left three daughters. Mary, surviving daughter, and eventually sole heiress, married Charles Philip, 16th Baron Stourton—he died in 1816—leaving four sons; the fourth, Philip, married,

holm; and he "herd say," that Mr. Chr. Nevell, Mr. Cuthbert (Nevill), Robert Tempest, and George Stafforth, were either there, or there abouts; and that Robert Collingwood, Robert Carr, and Rauf Swyno, were at Hume, with Lady Northumberland; and Tristram Fenwicke, Robert Schafto, Thomy Ogle, and another, were at Bedrowell. The Earl told him that the Countess of Northumberland

(1829) Catherine, eldest daughter of Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, Esq. and by family arrangements he became possessed of Holme, in Spalding More.

Sir William Constable married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, at Newton Kyme, near Tadcaster, Feb. 21, 1608, who died March, 1655. Sir William was Colonel of a regiment of foot; and successively represented Knaresborough and the County of York in Parliament. He sat as a judge on the trial of King Charles I. and signed his death-warrant. He was Governor of Gloucester in 1651. He died in London, on the 15th June, 1655; and was buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the 21st June, but his ashes were not suffered to repose in peace by the ultra-royalists of the restoration.

The foregoing account differs essentially from the ordinary printed pedigrees; and, although it is occasionally deficient in precise dates, and sometimes in positive proof; yet, on the whole, it appears to be, if not entirely correct, a near approximation to truth.

Sir Robert Constable appears to have been a very different person from the spy; and was probably a younger son of Sir Robert Constable, of Everingham, Knight, by Catherine, daughter of George Manners. He appears in the list of the Southern army *(Lansdown MS.* 207, *C.* 763*)* as Sergeant-Major.

He was at Wetherby on the 17th January, 1569-70, with 300 harquebusiers and 100 horsemen; and, by command of the Lord Admiral, he was to remain until he should receive orders from Lord Sussex. He removed to Boroughbridge on the 21st, "as Mr. Bowes prepared to Wetherbie, and vittals very skarse:" from whence he writes to Lord Sussex, that, for lack of money, he is not able to discharge the 300 footmen under his charge, who have been in wages for nine days. "I wyshe to God, above all men lyvinge, it might be once my fortune to do some service to your honor. I thincke myselfe the unhappiest mane; for where I had the grettest desire to serve, by one mishappe or other I can never come to hit." *(Catton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 412.*)* He was employed under the Earl of Sussex on the Scottish Borders, in 1570, and his account of the inroad is printed in Lodge *(Vol. II. p.* 42*)*, dated 5th May, from Berwick. He was knighted by the Earl of Sussex on the 11th May, 1570; and, in 1575, he was High-Marshall and Deputy-Governor of Berwick, in the absence of Lord Hunsdon. He had a grant from the Queen, of Chopwell. *(See Note, p.* 33.*)* In a letter from Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil *(Wright's Eliz. Vol. II. p.* 426*)*, 21st May, 1593, he is stated to have been "beggard" by taking charge of Berwick.

had received a favourable letter from Lord Hunsdon; and also gave him a little ring to deliver to the Countess, his wife.* Constable does not attempt to palliate the baseness of his conduct in trying to *trap* them that trust in him; but hopes, if he is successful in his villany, that the Queen will spare their lives, otherwise his *conscience* would be troubled.†

In a letter from the Queen to Lord Sussex, dated the 12th Jan. she states, that some of the principal rebels in Scotland make account of Leonard Dacres to be one of their confederacy, and she wishes some good means used to "have him in good saulfty, and so to be forth coming as he may be answerable."– *Orig. State Papers.*

Sir G. Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, 13th January.

My humble dewtie remembred, pleaseth your good L. I send you herewith all the books of Alvertonshire and Cleveland,‡ to have your L. directions for the numbers to be appointed furth of them to be executed. I fynd very fewe, or none, (savinge the market townes) eyther in Alvertonshire or Cleveland, that did goe with the rebells in the first Jorney, and sure in Cleveland there [are] none; and it is very fewe that went in ther returne, and as it semyth to me rather went coarsed then otherwyse of good will, wherefore I wold be glad to knowe your L. pleasure in thes

* The use he makes of this ring to obtain the confidence of the Countess of Westmoreland, is fully developed in his own most singular letter printed in Sadler, Vol. II. p. 135.

† The original letter is in the British Museum, *Cotton MS. Calig. C. I.* 372. In the catalogue it stands "Francis ..... to Sec. Cecil? reporting various transactions relating to the rebellious Earls (Orig.) Newcastle, Jan. 12, 1569-70." The signature has been written over; and, to a casual observer, it would appear to be Francis Scharals.

‡ The Cleveland list *(Bowes MS. Vol. XIII. p. 37)* gives the names of those "which at any tyme did assist or go to the rebells," and contains 217 names; but the numbers "pricked" to die do not appear. The list for the towne of Thirske contains 75 names, of whom 8 are doomed (p. 41); and the number of inhabitants of the wapentake of Birdfurth who joined the rebels, is stated at 203. These lists, however, are imperfect, and are probably only rough drafts *(Vol. XIII. p. 43)*.

cawses. I doo this day intend to wryte unto Mr. Gargrave and to make appointment for my beinge at Rypon, and so to followe on my course accordinge to your L. former direction, yf I be not countermandet by your L. and intending to be there of Wednesday, in the morninge att furthest. I wold be glad to know your L. pleasure yf there be any prisoners of these parts in my command your L. will have to be brought to be executed ther, that I may doo it with convenyent spede. Humblie desieringe your L. that I may have comandment to the Justices of peace, and gentlemen in thes parts of the west riddinge, that I may have there assystance as well in the apprehension of prisoners, as also unto my mynysters for the doinge of execution. I also send your L. herewith, a note of suche prysoners as I of late received from the L. Scrope, which in effect be but meane serving men, yet very proper men. Desirous to knowe your L. pleasure what shall be done with them. Thus restinge redie att your L. comandement, I humblie take my leve. From Alverton, this xiijth January.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. XVIII. p.* 7.

On the 13th, the Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil, giving an account of the part he had in the disposal of the rebels' goods,—that he gave "certen goods of certen rebells" to Lord Hundson's sons, and to Mr. Sadler's son, which was all he gave, "saving a little of my L. of Northumberlands stof that was in Lassells house, at Brackenborthe, which, upon Sir George Bowes coming owt of Barnard Castle, and the spoile of all he had, I gave to him, that had nothing left."—*S. P.*

The Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes, 13th January.

Sir George,—I received even now your ij letters, and, having redd the fyrste, I thought to despeche aunswer before I tarryed to rede the second, and therefore to pray you to procede your selfe by all the good menes you can

devyse, for the takyng of the persons* named in your letters, and yf you fynd any good matter upon the takyng of the fyrste, to advertyse me, that I maye therby know what other meynes maye be used to take the reste, of whose beyng in these parts I have also hard, but not of suche certenty as you wryte.

From Duresme, the xiijth of January, 1569.

Your assured frend,

T. Sussex.

Seal of Arms.

Orig. MS. Bowes Vol. I. p. 14.

Earl of Sussex to Sir G. Bowes, 14th January.

Sir George Bowes,—It is thought that th executyons be very longe in doynge, and I fere the Quenes Majestie wyll fynde cause of offence with her charge contynued so longe for that purpose; and, therefor, I praye you make all the haste you can, to avoyde offence, for a lyttell matter wyll styrre offence where charge growethe by it. Your under mynysters have not yet done here, which is thought to be ether in respect of gayne, or of favor; and I am dayly trobled with sutes for staye of suche as be appoynted to be executed, wherbye occasyon is mynystered to think this deferryng of justyce is for some respect, wherof I thought fete to gyve you a fryendly warnyng, for that I knowe you be otherwyes occupyed yourself, and knowe not all [that] is doyng here.

I have wrytten to Mr. Tankard to assyste you at Rypon, which letters you shall receyve herewith, and you maye

* Cuthbert and Christopher Nevill, with some of their adherents, were suspected to be lurking about Brancepath; and they were most probably the parties alluded to in this letter.

take Mr. Layton with you to Threske; and when you have resolved what to do, I praye you, lett it be don with spede. You shall not nede to returne my books to me, to be marked with syphers, for the numbers to be executed, for that havyng the former books, I leave that to your dyscresyon to follow th executyon of those. And so I byd you most hartely well to fare. From Duresme, the xiiijth of January, 1569. (70) Yr. assured friend,

Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 15. T. Sussex.

On the 16th of Jan. the Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex and Sir R. Sadler—(a minute of which letter, wholly in Cecil's hand writing, remains in the State Paper Office.) The greatest portion of the letter consists of directions for diminishing the numbers in various garrisons, and provision for defence of the Borders, by those that will remain. "And wher we perceave that two of old Richard Nortons sonnes ar taken, that is to saye, William and Christopher Norton, and lykwise one Thomas Norton, brother to Richard Norton: we are desyrooss that they all might be savely sent upp to our Court, with severall conductors, so as they shuld not have conference togither, nor with any others: and the lyke we wold have doone with Bishopp,* a Scottishman, if he be not allredy sent upp, as we have hard that our coosyn, the Erle of Warwyk, intended that he shuld be sent hyther, as one that is thought to be a principall instrument to stirr this rebellion.

P. S. We lately willed our Secretary to wryte to yow concerning certen custodies of landes and goodes of certen rebells, graunted by our coosyn of Warwyk, and our Admyrall, whylest they had chardge of our army there, conducted out of the South; amongst which, we requyre yow to have consideration of the custody appoynted to Henry Knoolles, whom you know what reson we have to regard, in respect of his kyndred to us, by his late mother."†

* Executed at York, 24th March, 1569–70.

† Catherine, daughter of William Carey, by Mary, sister to Queen Anne Bulleyn.

Sir George Bowes was now on his "circuit," in compliance with the orders of the Earl of Sussex. He held courts for the trial of the parties implicated; but the minutes of these courts are not preserved, and the proceedings must have been brief and expeditious, as the Queen was impatient to be relieved from further expense. Sir George states, that he executed* none, but such as confessed

* The usual warrant of execution, was an order from Sir George Bowes, to persons in the immediate neighbourhood, on whom he could rely. The notices are brief, as will appear by the following examples:—

xxij die Jan.

Men of Craven to be executed nyhe the townes where they dwelled.—*Threffeld*—Robert Araye. *Rylleston*—Richard Kaley. *Hanlyth*—Wm. Scranston.

I will that you, Henry Gyrlington, Thomas Rolandson, George Unes, and Richard Garthe, do see the execution of these above naymed, in some place nyghe the townes where they dwelled.

Hanlyth—Wm. Lawson to be hangman, and so discharged.

(Signed) GEORGE BOWES.

Then follows an order for the discovery of their property:—"I will that you, George Unes, do inventorye the goods of these men, within named to be executed; promysing the wyffes and children, that I will be good with theyme. Inquer for leasses,

(Signed) GEORGE BOWES."

Bowes MS. Vol. XIV. pp. 40, 41.

xvith die Jan.

Cleaveland—Prisoners to be executed in Cleaveland, to morrowe.

To be executed at or nyghe Gisburgh:—*Of Gisburgh*—James Hill, Hewghe Stoker.

To be executed at or nygh Great Ayton:—*Of Great Ayton*—John Atkinson, William Topley.

To be executed at or nygh Yarme:—*Of Yarme*—John Johnson, Richard Yonge, John Pearson, Robert Thompson.

I will that you, Henry Wandisford, do see the execution of thes men convicted, at the places above said, with all convenient spede.

(Signed) GEORGE BOWES.

Bowes MS. Vol. XIV. p. 48.

Judgments were given at Allerton, on the 16th, for "execution:"—*Allerton*—Xpor Hancock, Richard Wynde, Randall Horner, Robert Heckley, Henrye Thompson, Allan Lynsley, Willm. Tayler. Xpor Lambe, *hangman.*

Evill men beyng fled which ar necessarye to be executed, *yf they may be had:—Norton Conyers*, Thomas Tatam; *West Rougton*, Thomas Mabson; *Romaldbye*, Wm. Markenfeild; *Birtbye*, George Lupton; *Borowbye*, John Prest.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XIV. p.* 19.

In the list of judgments given 18th Jan. at No. Allerton, for executions in Cleveland, appears Robert Peters, of Gisburgh; who was stayed at the

that they had been in actual rebellion, two days, at least, after the expiration of the first pardon; or who took an active part in exciting their neighbours. (See Appendix, letter to the Earl of Huntingdon.)

He appears to have been at Northallerton and Thirsk, or in the immediate neighbourhood, from the 13th January, to the 23rd.

On the 18th, the Earl of Sussex enclosed a letter, which he and Sir R. Sadler had received from the Regent, dated at Sterling, 14th January, wherein he states that he will endeavour to secure the persons of the rebells; and that he has sent to Fernyhurst and Buchleugh, a trusty servant, for that purpose *(see Note, p. 142)*; adding, "Gyf thus thay cannot be wyn to do their dutie with favor; then meane I indeed, according to your Ll. opinion, to use strait commandement aganis thame, to deliver the Earle and other rebells, upon the hiest perill. Marie, I have na will to boste thame with the charge, without a ready force to execute punishment for thair contempt and disobedience; according to the order of your last degree, quhilk I thinke very gude.

..... The mair evident pruiffis that your Ll. can gif me of the receipt of your Soveraines rebellis in this realme, the mair peremptorly may I charge the resetters; for howbeit, I am past all doubting how and wher they are ressett, yet the persons burdened standis at their deniall. The names of them also which ye require maist earnestlie to be apprehendit, wald be signifyit to me; for I think your Ll. makes not accompt of serving men, or others of meane

earnest suit of Anthony Wyclyff. (p. 20.) And a list is given (p. 21) of "suche within Cleaveland as returned from Bramham Mowre, and never after joyned with the rebells; and therefore spared from execution, untyll my L. Lieutenante hys pleasure be knowen, beyng appointed to be bound to appeare before my said L. Lieutenant, within thre dayes next after warnyng geven at theyr howses:" amongst whom is John Husthwayte, of Whorellton, "thys mans bonds were fred at the earnest suyte of John Constable."

qualitie. From Streveling Castell, the 14th of Jan. 1569.

Your gude Ll. verey assured,

—*S. P.* JAMES REGENT."

The Earl of Sussex to Sir W. Cecil, 17th January.

SIR,—I received this morninge the Q. Maj. letters, towching Leonarde Dacres; and, understanding that he lieth of a hurte legge, in Naworth Castell, I wrote to the L. Scrope for the apprehending of him; with such advise as I could give him, for the secret and suer dealinge therof; and sent to him, inclosed in my letters, the Q. Ma. letters to me, whereby he might the better understand her Majesties pleasure, and consider of that he had to dooe.

Alleyne King, Sir Henry Percies servant, hath been with me; and hath promised me to doo what in him lieth to get Robert Shafto, whom he sweareth, he never sawe since the writing of his letters to his master.

I have allredy written to the Q. Ma. for lycense to repaire to her Ma. to informe her in matters for her profite and suertie, and the good government of these partes; which I trust will come to your handes to morrowe. And ther apon, I hartely pray you to use all the good means you may, to procure my license, in such sorte as my back frendes take no grounde to say, I seke to come away before the service be fully don; and I will, in the meane tyme, putte all thinges in such a stay, as apon the first warning, I may be redy to sett forwardes.

Mr. Wivells son and heire, was in the rebellion, with th Earl of Northumberland, his master; and is by Simon Musgrave deteyned, as diverse others be, in those partes, contrary to my sondry letters, upon some intente they have to begg them of the Q. Majestie. He is my wifes cosin, and, therefore, if any seke to begg* him, I besech

* The following original *begging* letter, from a retainer of the Earl of Sussex, is fully entitled to a place here, as characteristic of the times and of the writer:—

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR,—I have alwayes fownd you ready to proferre

you to procure his stay in the Q. Ma. handes. He hath nether landes nor goodes presently; and if it shall not please her Maj. hereafter to give him his life free, I wold rather wish for my wifes sake, it might please her Maj. to take a fyne to her selfe; although I payed parte of it, then to give him to be marchandized by others.

I have sent to you, longe since, the names and qualities of the prisoners; but the postes be very slowe of late, passing thether.

I expect, daily, answer of my letters of the 4th, to the Councell, towching the Scottish cawses and my dealinges with the Regent.

me frenshipp, which I have and do assuer my selfe to fynd at your hands. Whearfor now, having taken a sute apon me, whearein I am not only forced to desier you to forgett his offences and misdemenners towardes you passed, but allso am most hartelye to besheche your furtherance and faverable assistance for the obtayning the life of one George Greatheade; for whome I have bene greately sought to, to save, and have passed my promyse to do for him that in me lies; so that, though his life, it may be, have not bene the most orderly, yet, apon hope of amendment, I seake to seale and shett thear mouthes that can reportt to the defacing my sute, with my harty desiers, and assuered service in that I may be able. Sir, my Lady, your wyfe, sendeth you this ring, heare in closed, hoping thearby that I, hur poore knysman, shall fynd the more frenshippe and furtherance in you, in this sute, being the first I have sought; and whear I would be lother to be over thrown then in some one that mought be more benefitiall to me; I, Sir, unfaynedly thought I mought gayne five hundred pounds by it, whear this shall be never a peny, but rather charge, which I am well contented with. Farther, Sir, I had thought to have wayted on you my selfe, but I cannot seame to leave my L. my returne home have beene so lately, as this bearer, my man, Francis Best, can reportte to you: unto home, Sir, I ernestly crave to shew your benevolence in granting him the life of some one prisoner, thear you are, and which lieth in your good will; which may be some commoditye to him, and the better inable him in my service, besides, a daylye oratour for your increase in worshippe; and farther, bynd me treble in debted to you for thease and other your fryndly courtesies. As for my selfe, I reast styll in hope of somethinge; but it fareth with me now as it hath done all my life hitherto,—that when thrifte is at home, then am I abrode. This ould proverbe is verified in me; but I trust God will provide for me, as he have done alwayes hitherto. Sir, this is but to argue with you of my good fortunes, which all wayes, as my selfe, shall remayne at youer devotion; and so most hartely I wishe you well to fare, as to my selfe. From Durram, the xx of January, 1569. Your bounden poore kynsman to his power, THO. HEIGHAM.

Addressed "To his very approved good Cosin, Sir George Bowes, Knyght Marshall of these North parts. Hast".— Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. III. p. 7.

This day I came hether, to view this towne; and will retourn to morrow to Duresme, with good hope to have shortly my license, by your good meanes.

I did perceive, by your letters received at Exham, that our northern judges were thought over favorable; and therefore ther was a meaninge to send some sowtherne judges. In respect wherof, I stayed to procede by the commission of oyer and determiner, remayning here; and wrate to you, that I thought if any were sent from thence, Mr. Atturney, wold be very fitt to be one; and in that opinion I remayne still, and do depend therin, apon direction from thence: although I thinke it wolde have ben sufficiently exequuted by the commissioners here.

My L. of Rutland departed from me at Newcastell, and your sonne from Duresme, within 4 dayes after.

I have written to my brother, to move the Q. Ma. for the staye of such sutes as be agaynst me, in the lawe, this terme; wherin I beseche you I may have your furtheraunce, apon reasonable cawses, he shall declare to you. And so I comitt you to the Allmightie. From Hartelpoole, the xvijth January, 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

On the same day Sir R. Sadler writes to Cecil; which letter is correctly given in Sadler, omitting, however, the following post script.

"My Lord Lieutenant cam hither yestr night, purposely to view this town; he is so carefull of his charge, and so desirous to see and know all things mete for his knowledge, that though he had caused sundry platts to be made of it, yet because it hath ben noted a matier of such moment, he could not be satisfied till he had seene it; and now we are returning to Duresme."

The Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes, 19th Jan.

Sir George Bowes,—I receyved, yesternight, letters from the Corte, wherby I percyve the Queens Majestie doth muche marvell, that she dothe not here from me that th

execution is yet ended; and that she is disburdened of her charges, that was consydered for that respecte; and, therfore, I hartely praye you to use expedytyon, for I fere this lyngeryng wyll brede dyspleser to us bothe. I wowld have you mak th examples grete in Rypon and Tadcaster; and, therfore, yf you find not suffycyent nombres within the townes that be in the doings of the late [rebellion], take of other townes, and bryng them to th executyon to those places; for it is necessary that th executyon be grete in apparance in those two places, thoughe ther be the lesse, or none, in other places: the lyke wherof shall be convenyent to be done at Thyrsk. The lyngeryng of executyon bredeth also offence every where, as I have willed your frend, Mr. Layton, to declare to you; whereyn I praye you see that your dexteryte be not hyndered by the corruptyon of others. And so I wysh to you, as to myself. From Duresme, the xixth of January, 1569.—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. No.* 16.

The Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil on the 21st:—"Christopher Norton, and a younger brother of his, be here; whom I will send, according to her Majesties pleasure. I have hard that William and Thomas [Norton] hold be gone to my L. of Warwick, but I knowe not the truth; and if they be by his L. comitted to any place within my rule, I will also send them with diligence. Bishop is not to be caried without great perill of life, and for that he could not be brought hither, I caused the Bishop of Carlisle to reexamyn him apon certen interrogations; which, with his examination, and the Bishops letters to me, and a further declaration maide by the Bishop of a treason, intended for the killing of him, and the taking of the Castell of Carlisle, I send you herewith copied.*

* The L. Scroop, Lord Warden of the West Marches, for anenst Scotland, taking his jorney into Westmoreland, with his whole power against the Earles rebells, for that he durst not well trust any other to keep the Quenes Majesties castell and towne of Carlisle, appointed the Bishop of Carlisle to the

Robert Shafto hath made offer, that if he may have pardon of his life, he will deliver the letters that wer sent owt of the west, to th Earles at Exam; and for that these

custody thereof; about one of the clock upon Wednesday, the xiiiith of December last past, did departe the castell and towne, and I, the said Bishop, entered into the castell, and tok the government therof, appointing every man in his chardge and office as was thought mete. The same day, within two hours after, came Will. Carter, gonner, to the castell gates, and desires to be let in, that he might speak with me, the said Bishop, for the Quenes Majesties affairs; which Carter, being taken in, requested to speak with me secretly alone, and, going to the rampier of the said castell, said thus, as followeth: My Lord, tak hede to yourselfe and this castell, for ther is mischef conspired, and against you; for, being redy to leape to my horse and follow the Quenes Majesties ordinance, wherof I have chardge, one John Brisko, named Lord Brisko, asked me whether my Lord Warden was gone or not, and who was left in trust with the castell, and I said the Bishop of Carlisle; and he said againe, that is well. But furthwith, his back being turned, one Tho. Brisko, his servant, secretly pulled me by the sleve, and said, let me speak with you or you depart. And I went aside with him; and the said Tho. Brisko said unto me, thou, one of the Quenes Majesties servants,... .. go, I pray the, to the Bishop of Carlisle, in all the hast thou can, and will him in any wise to lok to himself and the castell; for that this night will ther be an attempt made to tak it, to the use of the rebells, and, therfore, let him call in force to him, and in no wise departe owt of the castell. For to morrow (if this faile) it is appointed, that by a messenger he shal be called into the church to speak with one there, and as sone as he is come thether, a dager shal be thrust in him; and forthwith the castell be entered and taken, to the use afore named; and so the said Carter immediately departed to his charge; after whose departure, I, the said Bishop, did take in such force as I thought was hable to resist ther malice. All that same day (as the said Carter affirmeth), Edward Dacres did lye privily at a little village named Herreby, within a myle of Carlisle, in one Bacon howse, and certen soldiers with him; and, sending for a dish of apples, did eate them, and nothing ells,—in the eatinge wherof, he asked who kept the castell of Carlisle in the absens of the Lord Warden; and the poore man said my Lord of Carlisle, as it is reported. And the said Edward Dacres smyled, and said that is well,—a bishop to have the custody of the castell and town of Carlisle! and, making thus an end of his tale, towards night departed into Carlisle.

The same night, the said Edward conveyed into Carlisle, by small soppes of men, 200 soldiers, besides those that came into the towne in the next morning following under the color to be mustered for the Queen; and when they perceved the castell furnished with men, and strongly warded, the said Edward departed forth of Carlisle, and the solders went home to ther own houses. That day, at afternone, Mr. Francis Dacre, the youngest brother to the Lord Dacre, came to the castle gate and desired to speak with me, the said Bishop, for he had a message from my Lord, his brother, to me; and, being taken in (by my comandment), with one man with him, and coming

matters cary great apparances, I have promised, that if he deliver such matter to me by writing, or otherwise, as shall deserve his pardon, I will take upon me the suinge for it; and if he do not deliver such matter as I shall think to be worthy his pardon, then I will put him saulf; where he will repair upon the borders, so as he shal be assured to come and go save.

King Henry the 8th, in the rebellion here, sent to Dancaster the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with an army roiall, who were like to have ben repulsed there, if the waters had not sodenly risen; and her Majestie, by the only power and policie of such as served under me in Yorkshire, hath putt back the rebells, into the Bishoprick, owt of Yorkshire, before any one man was raised in all the South. And, therefore, I trust her Majestie will not discorage such as have done her this service, and put ther lives in hassarde, to stay the brunt; before any southern power was harde of.—*S. P.*

Sir G. Bowes to Ralph Bowes, 23rd January.

Good Cosyn Rawffe,—My hartye comendatyons re-

to my presens, said his message was as followeth: My Lord, my brother sent me hether unto you, to inquire of you whether you have said that *he is not trew unto the Quenes Majestie, or not;* and I, pawsing a little space, answered that I marvelled my Lord, his brother, wold chardge me with any such words, which I did never speak, nether yet think, nor none other that I know of within that castell. And I prayed him that he wold desire my Lord, his brother, to bolte owt the matter of those that had told that tale; and then shold it apper whether I wer faultie in these words, or they were liers, that had so told him, and then might he credit afterwards as he saw cawse. And then the said Francis did saye, wherfore then have you taken such force into the castell to you, more now then any tyme before? I answered, that yesternight was lodged within the citie of Carlisle, XL or L of the Hetheringtons, which he himself knew were not my frends; and above LX Scottsmen also, besides many other soldiers, for what purpose I could not tell; but mete it, is that being put in trust, I lok to my chardge of this howse in my L. Wardens absens; and, with this answere, he departed. And thus, through Gods helpe the matter was forsene, the perill avoided, and no hurt don. JOANNES CARLIOLEN.

Endorsed "The Bishop of Carlisles declaration of a treason, intended for the killing of him, and the taking of the Castell of Carlisle, 13th Dec. 1569. Delivered to the L. Lt. 20th Jan. 1569."—S. P.

membred, with desyre not to thynke muche that I have forborne so longe to wryte, which ys for no other cawse, then that I could not fynde tyme, or have fyt caryage; for the morowe after that I came owt of Barnard Castell, I was appointed Marshall of the Armye, under the leding of th Earle of Sussex, which fylled me so full of cawses dewryng the marche, as I had skarsse fyve howres of the xxiiij to rest my weryed head and bones; and immydeatlye after, beyng appointed to passe in a cyrcuyte thorough the Byshopbrygge, Richmondshyre, Allertonshyre, Cleaveland, Rippon, and so to Wedderbye, for syftyng of theys rebells by martyall lawe. In which cyrcuyte and jorney, theyr ys of theym executed, six hundreth and odd; so that now the auctors of thys rebellyon ys curssed of everye syde; and sure the people [are] in marvelous feare, so that I trust there shall never suche thing happen in these partes agayne; neyther can th Earles, with the rest of there conspyrators, wynne credyt to styrre any mans heart.

But now to myself: having in thys circuyte manye lokers on, and folowers, some to crave at my hand, and some to seek advantages; I fear everye of these came not with good myndes, and, therefore, some maye perhaps make reportes styrred thereunto by envye, that maye hinder my credyt; for which purpose I have thought good to direct unto the, good Cosyn Bowes, thys bearer, my servant Davyd James, unto whom I praye you geve credyt and advertysement, how I stand above with the Queens Majestie, and the councell; and, specyallye, with your Lord, and Mr. Secretarye. Lett me have thye councell, whether I am better to seke some recompence by the Lieutenants meane, and make myne abode heare to hys comyng up; or, I had better to hast up, and be myne own solycytor. And for my suyt, thys bearer shall informe, having all I had utterlye spoyled and gone, and my cheyf howse defayced, the losses, whereof, was to me above fowre thowsand pounds; for they neyther left me, in all my howses or groundes, stuff, corne, or cattall, so that I was ryghtlye in Jobbes case, save for my chyldren, which

yet God preserved; but now, not meanyng but to call upon the, by the meane of thys bearer, who also shall be meane to get conveyed to me, whatsoever ye will send.

Hartylye prayeng you, good Cosyn, that I may often hear from thee; and specyallye now. And so wyshyng to you, as to myself; beyng sure that my wyfe wolde have remembred you with commendatyons, but that she knoweth not of the comyng of the bearer; for that I sawe her not thys fortnyght. All your friends heare be in good health. Wishyng welth to you, and yours boyth.

From Thirske, where I end this xxiij of January, 1569. —*Indorsed by Sir G. Bowes.*—"*Copy of a letter sent to my Cosyn, Rawffe Bowes.*"—*Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 17.

On the 24th, the Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex: —"We trust the Regent* will procede to delyver to us such of our rebells as he hath in custody, and not omytt any oportunitie to apprehend the rest." *(S. P. Cecil's rough draft.)* She writes, at the same time, to Lord Hunsdon, that John Vaughan† will be sent to demand the

* At this time, however, the Regent was no longer in existence: and the following letter from Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, contains perhaps the first account which would be received of his assassination.

"I am sorry, so suddenly, after my letter wrytten thys mornynge, at x a cloke, too send ye so yll newes. The Regent, cumynge from Stirlynge too mete Sr. Harry Gates and the Marshall, for hyr Majesties affayres; beynge yn Lythko, among divers uthars, was shott att, with a *curryar*, by one of the Hambletons, leynge hydden yn a howse; and was chargyd with 3 or 4 pelletts, whereoff all myst hym savynge one, whyche hytt hym thuro the belly, bynethe the navell; as this bearer, Skydmore, servant too the Marshall, can declare unto you, too whome I pray ye gyve credytt.

Hyr Ma. sent of late for the dyscharge of those few that wer left apon the fruntyers. I wold wyshe hyr Ma. and hyr cownsell too looke well too thys Cuntrey, for I beleive yf he dey, as ther ys lyttell uther hope, hyr Ma. shal be fayne too send as goode a company as my L. of Warwyke, and my L. Admyrall browght; or els thys cuntrey too be cleane overthrowne. I send so spedily away, as I have leysor too wryght no more: and so I comytt ye too God. From Berwyke, thys 24, at 2 yn the afternune."—*Orig. S. P.*

† John Vaughan, was one of the Council of the North; and, apparently, the concealed enemy of Lord Sussex.

In a letter of Vaughan's to Sir W. Cecil, 2nd of November, 1569, he says, he thinks it best to forbear to answer the letter respecting the

Earl of Northumberland of the Regent; and adds, that "some dowt is made of his delivery, which, we think, is rather given out of wisdome and pollicy, by the said Regent, untill he may be demanded according to the treaties; for otherwise we shuld much mislike therof." And

rumours, as he intends to repair to Court to declare his knowledge "by speche, being an ill wrytter, and partly for *other respects.*" He begs Cecil will prevent his being made Sheriff, of which he hears there is some intention; and concludes by saying, "if things fall owte in corte, as I may not make my repayre to you, I will then wryte at large, and send a man of my own with it;" which looks as if he had something to communicate that might not be sent by the ordinary channels. On the retreat of the rebels, Lord Sussex made him Provost Marshall; and, in his letter to Cecil, 28th Dec. he says, "if he gave it up, it was not my faulte; but herein, and in other particular matters, I forbere now to troble you, for I attend only the publique cawses."—*S. P.* Lord Hunsdon was indignant that Vaughan should be sent to receive the Earl of Northumberland; and writes, on the 13th of Jan. to the Queen, "Seure I am, that the Regent wyll not fayle too accomplyshe your Majesties request too the uttermost of hys power; but, *ultra posse non est esse.* For seurly, yf my spyalls and advertysments doo nott muche fayle me, the most parte of the nobyllyte of Skotland, and especyally a thys syde Edenburro, thynks yt a grete reproche, and ygnomyny too the hole Cuntrey, too delyver any banysht man too the slawghter; accowntynge ytt a lyberte and fredome yncydent to all nacyons, too succor banysht men. I perceve that your Majestie ys determyned that Jhon Vahan, or sum uthar, shall have the bryngyng up of the Erle, yf he be delyvered: Your Majestie may doo your plesure; but seurly, as ytt wyll towche meyn credytt too have any uthar man brynge hym up, seynge my beynge heare now ys of no muche ymportance; so havynge no grete busynes as stands me apon greate lossys, too my grete hynderance, I trust your Majestie wyll nott deny my cumynge up, thohe I tarry but for a monthe, seynge I had no tyme att my last levynge theare too doo any thyng for my selfe. Berwyke."—*Orig. S. P.*

He writes, on the same day, to Cecil: "I perceve that her Majestie cannot be ynduced to lett me brynge up the Erle, yf he be delyvered; but that *Jhon Vahan*, or sum other, must have the credyt and doing therof."—*Orig. S. P.*

And in his letter of the 2nd April, to Cecil, he is still more explicit. After lamenting the small force which Sussex has brought to invade Scotland, he adds, "I fear nothyng, but that when my Lo. Lt. and uthars under hym, shall venter theyr lyves, and doo theyr uttermost for hyr Majesties servys; sum othar, *Jhon Vahans* shall stepe up too deface our dooyngs, who wyll kep themselves safe ynowhe from all perylls. Trewly ytt hathe nott furthered hyr Majesties servys, the sendyng of my Lo. of Sussex down with so smale credytt; beynge so openly knoone how and by whome he was so acusyd, and yett the party nott punysht." [*Orig. S. P.*]—What reward Vaughan received does not appear, but he begs the manor of Wildrake, in York; and, if this is not granted, then an exchange, with a manor of his, called Sutton. (*Lansdown MS.* 106, 32.)

she also desires him to devise how to induce the Earl "to utter the circumstances that moved and comforted him and his confederates." *(S. P. rough draft.)*

Lord Scrope writes to Sir W. Cecil, on the 24th, from Carlisle, that, on the Queen's letter to the Earl of Sussex, he received an order from the latter to get Leonard Dacres* "into safe custodie, for the aunswering of suche matter as dyverse wayes, on her Ma. behalfe, was to be objected agaynst him. Wherein I advertised his Lo. in effecte, that if he had any suspicon of himselfe, he would be verie hard to come to, lying continually at Nawarde, being his cheefe force, and so nere Scotland; so as I thought it much better for a tyme, till other force might be sent, to spare him, than sodenlie to attempte him and escape him. And further, did signifie, that my simple opinion was, if his Lo. ment to have him apprehended; to send hither four or five hundred shotte, under color of garrison, for that the forces here onlie were not to be credited† in that servyce. Whereunto I am aunswered from his Lo. that I shold continew the matter in great secrett, till he might receive further advertisement from her Ma. for that the importance of the cause so requyred: wherin I have also nowe thought good to advertise your honor, that (as me thinke) it were verie convenyent that he were knowen to be either a good subject, or an evell; and if he be yll, it were verie mete some good and suer devise were had for the cutting of him of, and the soner the better. And I assure you the same muste be done by others, than by the force here; and both in secrett maner and in tyme, for otherwise he will, and is hable to bring to the State, a moche greater perill then the others before.

* Leonard Dacres, of Naworthe, of whom the Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex, 13th Jan.—"We perceive, amongst other thyngs, some of the principall rebells in Scotland make account of Leonard Dakers to be one of ther confederacy, or league;" and therefore she desires he may be taken into custody.—*Rough Draft, S. P.* And, for leaving the north without doing so, the Queen expresses her dissatisfaction. (See Appendix.)

† Relied upon.

P. S. I have here, inclosed, sent to your honor, a letter from the Earle of Westmoreland, furth of Scotland, to my wife;* for that neither she nor I will have any doeings with him, for the which, to be inclosed, I brake up this letter after it was sealed."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex, on the 25th: —"We fynd it strange that ye sholde have any intention to retourne to Yorke, before this service were thoroughly executed."—*S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, on the 26th:—"If Dakers be one of the confederates, (as you know best above) what sewrty hyr Majesty hath yn all thys cuntrey, she shall fynd when soever she hathe nede.

I wrott unto youe, that the borderars wold be lusty: I dyd proffycy. For the very next mornyng they made thys roode, that I have wrytten too the cownsell of; and I assure you, I am credably advertysede, that Westmerland was theare, and was very angry that Warke was nott burnt; but dyvers of the rebbells of thys cuntrey wer there, and sume of them spoken untoo; as sum of the Karrs and the Swynose.

I have hade two fytts of an agew, but I trust, by goode dyett, I have putt ytt away; for I have looked for hym thys two owers, but yett, I thanke God, I feele nott of

* Syster Scrope, as I have alwayes in tyme passed bene behouldenge unto you for your good wyll, so nowe I thinke myself most bounde unto you, that you doo nowe shew your good wyll unto me in thys myne adversytie. I praye you that [you] wyll sende me some newes out of Englande, and some good wourde, if you can, of my F. [*q. four*] graces, and of our oulde frend that roughte the plene and whyte sylver cheyne, which you sent my *twynkes* for a token. I pray you that I may hear from you, eyther by wrytinge or els by some trustie frende or servante; and I shall send you some wourde by them againe, more at large. I truste, that though your husbande be the Quenes Majesties officer, yeat he wyll shewe some good wyll to me, hys poure oulde frende, for dyverse respectes which I dare not nowe wryte. Farewell, good syster, and I truste to God, yeat, for all that, we shal be as merry as wee weare when you weare named Angelyca. Your assured brother,

Orig. S. P. C. Westmerland.

hym. I pray ye lett nott my wyfe know any thyng of ytt. 26 Jan. 1569."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl of Sussex was at York on the 26th; and, on the 27th, he writes to Cecil, that he intends to sett forwards the next day with Mr. Treasurer (Sadler).—On the 28th, he and Sadler write to Lord Scrope, to send for Leonard Dacre, and endeavour to secure him.—On the 29th, the Earl of Sussex transmits the following order to Sir George Bowes:—

By the L. Lieutenante of the North.

Where the Quenes moste excellent Majestie hath commanded me to make my repaire to her highnes, for conference about her service in the parts of her highnes realme within my commission of Lieutenancie. Allthough it be apparant that the rebellious and ill disposed people have bene so chastised, as, at this present, every contrey within my said commission remayneth in obedience, and the people redy to be directed by ordenary cowrse of justice; yet, considering the late rebells in the Bisshoprick of Duresme and Richmontshire, mynister good cawse to forsee and prevent the evill intencon of the wicked, if any such sholde happen to be, and that the lack of good direccon in those parts may be occasion of disorder: I have therfore thought fitt to comitt unto you, under me, the speciall chardge and direccon of those two Contreys. And, therfore, do aucthorize you, by these presents, not only to call unto you the justices of peace and principal gentlemen in ether of them, and to conferre with them for the good order and quiet of the people; but also to devise how you may be prepared to have in a redynes, horses, armor, and weapon, to suppresse, by lawfull force, any disorder or unlawfull accon that shal be attempted in any of the saide contries; and, as the ymportance of the cawse shall require, to see the same putt in exequcon; your doings wherin, and in all other matters tending to her Majesties service, you shall ymparte to Sir Thomas Gargrave, Viz President of her

Majesties Councell in the North, and others of the Councell attendant there;—and shall also advertise me with all the possible spede you maye. Dated at Yorke, the xxixth of January, 1569–[70.]

T. Sussex.

To Sir George Bowes, Knight, one of the Q. Majesties Councell in the North.– Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. I. p. 18.

He writes, on the same day, to Cecil:—"I am sory that the Quene, by mistaking of her former direccons for Leonard Dacre, doth take my doengs therin in ill part. I was not directed to apprehend Dacre, otherwise then to direct order therein to my Lord Scroope; which I did as sufficiently, as Mr. Sadler and I could devise. Yorke, 29 Jan. 1569, at 12 in the day, as I was goinge to horeback towards London."—And on a slip of paper, he writes to Cecil:—Sir, you shall fynd that ther lackes not wyll in me to have gon myself presently to have apprehended Dacres, and that I had so devysed for the doying therof, as it was lykly to take good effect: but all actyones here, be so hardely interpreted there, as every man is afrayed to do or advyse further then is playnly dyrected; which I had rather were told you by others then by me, bycause I am the person patyent in this cause. 29 Jan. 1569–[70.]—*Orig. S. P.*

The Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex on the 29th:—"Right trustie and right wel beloved cousine, we grett youe well. Where we were contented, that, according to your desier, youe shuld come up, after things stayde in that countrey: now, apon the sorowful accident by the dethe of the Regent in Scotland, we are moved to have you staye within your charge; and presently will, that youe do send to all the three Wardens upon the frontiers towards Scotlande, to consider in what sort they may make our frontiers strong, to with stand any suddeine incursions of our rebells, or of the Scotts, ther fautors and frends; which, we think, upon the dethe of the Regent, who was the onley staye

of peace upon the borders, wil be attempted, if they shall finde our borders unfurnished. And to this ende, you shall will our said Wardens to advertise youe of their severall opinions, and what they shall necessarily require for there maintenance; so as eyther yorself may, yf the case shall require suche spedines, give the ayde that you can; or ells, upon knowledge sent to us, we may direct order for accomplisement thereof. We have also resolved, that Sr Rauf Sadler shall furthewithe repaire into Scotland, as he shall perceive by our letters; which Thomas Randolph shall bring with him, who also is ordered to haste into Scotland."—*Orig. Cotton MS. Calig. B. IX.* 404.

Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil on the 30th:—"I am now also gyven too understand, how the comfort comes too the rebelles. Yt ys browght them by Wyllyam Doglas, who names hym selfe, Jhon Hambeltons man; butt ys the Byshope of Rose hys man; and browght letters sowde yn the buttons of hys cotte, beynge grete thre sqare buttons: who hathe assuryd them that they shall have ayde from the Duke of Alva; and dothe wyll them too doo what they can to breke the bordars, and too kepe us tyll they cume. He hathe browght mony twyse with hym, and even now he hathe eyther browght mony, or credytt for mony; and I thinke he be now with the Scottishe Queen."—*Orig. S. P.*

And he writes, on the same day, to the Queen:—"I beseche your Majestie take head of the Bishoppe of Rosse, and lett (him) be kept streyghte; for I can assure your Majestie that all this rebellion, and ther practise with foreyn nacons, procedes from him. And assure yourself, that if ye do not take heade of that Scottishe Quene, she will putt you in perill; and that or hitt be longe, for there are manie practices abrode."—*S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon writes, on the 31st, to Cecil:—"This nyght hathe Farneherst, and Bukklew, and Jhonston, with

my Lord of Westmerland byn yn the myddel marche wythe 300 horse, as I am thys mornyng credably advertysed, and have byn as far as Morpett; but what spoyle they have dune I am nott yett seure of, but ye may be seure yt ys too muche.

I am glad to heare uthar men can gett of the rebells lands and goodes; thohe my hape be too feele of none, yett I trust hyr Ma. wyll nott dyscredytt my L. Lyvetenant so much as too gyve that too uthars, whych went nott owt of the Cowrte, that he had gyven byfor too hym who servyd for ytt, and was at sum charge, my sun George, I meane, too whome my L. Levetenante had gyven Edward Dakers goodes. Even now have I receyved a letter from my L. Skroope, that a man of Harry Knevetts ys come to the Sherive with a warrant, sygned by the Qu. Ma. for the delyvery of the possession of the said goods and lands too the sayd bearer. I wyll nott loke for such a gyfte."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl of Sussex was, this day, at Stilton, on his way to London.

Sir Thomas Gargrave to Sir W. Cecil, York, 1st Feb.

A grett nomber of th offendors, beyng meane men, kepyth abrode, and darre not come to theyr howses, wherby yet many townes and places (as Sir George Bowes reportyth) be not furnyshed with men; and yf no ordre be takyn therin, they wil be redy to serve any evyll attempte. Therfor, yf yt be thought convenyent to call them home, commyssyons myght be made to some discrete persons to call them al home by proclamacon (excepte certen persons to be named and excepted); and the Lordes Commyssyoners to assesse some resonable fynes upon thoys able to pay fynes, wyche myght be some satysfaccon towerdes her Majesties charges; and then al to be pardonyd, excepte thoys wyche shuld be namyd to be exceptyd. And before thoys that standyth as rebelles be mayd by pardon, lawfull

subjectes, yt ys dayngerous delyng with them; therfor, ordre ys to be takyn theryn, for many of them be abrode, and yf they shuld be takyn, ther ys no presons wheryn to kepe them.

Yt ys here reportyd, that th Erle of Westmerland hayth, with a greet nomber of Scottes and rebelles, mayd a rode into Northumberland; and hayth burnyd houses, slane men, and taken prisoners. Yf this be trew, I doute not but yt ys certefyed to the Court. As before, I have wryttyn to your honor, I wold the propertye of the rebelles landes were altered; for that wold make the tenauntes and people depende upon the newe bandes, and alyenate theyr myndes frome the olde, and take awaye hope to have gaines at theyr handes.—*Orig. S. P.*

Sir George Bowes writes, on the same day, to the Earl of Sussex, from York, that he has received his commission, and will take order for the "staye and quiet" of Richmondshire and Durham; and expresses his "opynyon, that theyr ys no delyng with the people in any open assembly, before her hyghnes determyne hyr pleasure of theyme, and extende hyr mercye; which to hasten, as may stande with her hyghnes wyll, I humble desyre your Lo. in the behalf of thees meserable people, and lett theyme redeeme theymselves into the case of subjectes, with the uttermost of their substance."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. XVIII. p.* 9.

Sir George Bowes to Sir W. Cecil, 3rd Feb.

Sir,—My humble dewty remembered. Whereas I had proposed, immedyately upon the dyssolution of this late army, to have made my repaire to the Court, as well to accomplysh the partes of my dewty, as also to gyve accompte of my doings in these servyces; and ther with to open my present estate, greatly shaken by the spoiles and defaycyng of my houses, evydences, and goods, done in right dyspyteful manner. I am nowe, by newe accidents, stayed here by the Lord Lieutenante, to bring the countreys to settling, and contynew in quyetnes. And having

upon my staye, commytted my busyness to my brother, Robert Bowes, that for lyke causes had entred his jorney, with leave towards the Court; he is also stayed by the Lo. Lieutenants letter, and retorned towards Wark to his charge of horsemen there; whereby I am dryven both to suspend the pursuit of my causes, and also, upon hope of myne own accesse, or my brothers coming, have thus long deferred to wryte. But, because it behoveth me very necessarylie to come to Court, with such convenyent spede as may be thought good, trusting that in short tyme I may be lycensed with safety so to do; I therfor humblie beseche you to vouchsafe to helpe me to obteyne leve to come, at such tyme as may best please her Majestie..... From Yorke, the third of February, 1569-[70.]—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 19.

Sir Thomas Gargrave writes to Cecil, on the 4th of Feb. that he objects, that means should be used to bring in all offenders, as that would leave many places bare of inhabitants; but he recommends "that some selecte nomber may be chosyn of the least and meane sortes, and chefely the papystes, and theys to be atteynted, as well here (York) as at Durham; and all the rest wold I wishe to be pardoned, except certen chosyn persons that be abrode; for, in myn opynion, the pore husbandman and meane subjecte (yf he be not a grett papyste) wyll become good subjectes. And ther ys by marcyall lawe alredy executyd, above 500 of the poore sorte; and for theyr goodes, Mr. Bowes, as Marshall, clamyth them; and I clame them for her Majestie, because yt ys in the case of warre levyed agynst the Prince, and we bothe wold gladly be resolvyd what shold be done theryn."—*Orig. S. P.*

Sir Georye Bowes to Sir W. Cecil, 6th Feb. 1569-[70.]

Right Honorable,—My humble dewtie remembred. Where by my late letters I did sewe for leave to make my repaire to the Courte, with the speade that convenient

might be; nowe, beinge appointed by the L. Levetenaunt to the chardge of this countrie, and fyndinge suche newe accidentes in these partes, whereof I have advertysed his L. trustinge he will imparte the same unto youe; as I doo thinke my abode heare very necessarie for her Majesties service, which I doo prefere before my owne pryvate affayres. Therefore, I thought good not to crave any leave att this tyme, suspendinge the same untill better oportunytie, and as may be thought moste convenient; trustinge, that my cawses, in the meane tyme, and duringe my service, shall receyve no lesse favor by the suyte of my sollycytour, this bearer, my cosyn, Robert Bowes, (who, with great perell and paynes, haithe dewtyfullie served her Majestie, as the L. Levetenaunt knoweth,) then yf I wer presente and folowed the same my selfe; in which thinges I humblie beseeche your favor and goodnes. And thus I pray God longe to preserve youe in muche increase of honor, and good welfare longe to contenewe. From Richmond, the 6th of Februarie.— *Orig. S. P.*

Sir George Bowes to Sir Thomas Gargrave, 6th Feb.

The gentlemen of Richmondshyre, for the most part, come whollye; and we have tayken ordre that the horsemen appointed in that contrethe shal be redy. And we have devydett our selffes for the appointment of the three hundreth footemen, havyng devyded them into suche townes where they shall be mayd; but we darr not make any assemblye of the people, standing as they doo, but hayth onelye appointed everye constablerye to have so muche monye redy by Saterdaye next, as will serve to furnishe suche nombers as be appointed in everye towne; but for the men, we can not appoint, for that the more parte standyth styll, as rebells, whom we, therefore, dare not name, or appointe forthe, neyther assemble. And sure the gentlemen and people heare seame dewtyful, desyrous to have the Princes favor and pardon, for theyr former faltes. The Byshopryge is not so well; for I am adver-

tised, by a Justice of Peace, that Xpofer Neyvell ys in or aboute Branspythe secretlye; and that he goyeth about to move new styrrs, or by secrett or open meanes, to kill my brother, or me. And yt ys generally reported that theyr ys greater provysion maid at Branspeth* then ys convenyent; whereby the people of that cuntrye ar much abasshed, and the evill boldened. But I intend to keape on my jorney, and to be at Durham of Wedensday; having with me many gentlemen, my frends, with the nombre of a hundreth horse, or ny there aboute; as well for myne owne sayftye, as for that I shall be in the more redynes to serve and suppresse, yf any small shewe should breake out. And sure, fall out as may be, brutes shall not fraye me from my dewtye, and diligence shall not lacke to seake out the cawses of these brutes. I have wrytten thus much and more to my Lord, with credence, also, of my cosyn, Robert Bowes; whom, with great spead, I have sent up therwith. And thinketh myself in no lesse danger then I was in any tyme in the first rebellyon; knowyng not many that will, eyther in that countrye of the Byshopebrige, stand to theyr dewtyes, but rather forther the evill, yf any styrre happe. But I shall rather keape yt quyet to my Lords returne, or, in my wylling to doy the same, bestowe my lyeff. The Deane ys yet againe gone away, in the most nedefull tyme of hys abode, and was gone, as I learne, of Mondaye last; so that he will be at the Court within a daye as sone as my Lord Lieutenant; so that my letters came not to him. And thus assuryng you, that you shall heare as occasyon servyth.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. XVIII. p.* 13.

* Lady Westmoreland's residence at Brancepeth was naturally viewed with suspicion; and, in a letter from Sir George Bowes to Lady Sussex, 13th Feb. he says:—"The Countess of Westmerland sayeth, that she wyll, in the beginning of the next week after thys, repayr to London, which I wyshe wer so."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. XVIII. p.* 16.

The Countess shortly afterwards left Brancepeth, and repaired to London.

Sir George Bowes to Sir Thomas Gargrave, 9th Feb.*

Sir,—All thoughe everye where before I came in the Byshopbrige, and in my waye to my howse, I fownde such brewtes that I was so abashed I stoode the fyrst nyght in greate dowte what I shulde doo; but, sendinge furthe to seke what was the occasyon, and whether there was matter or no, every where I fownde noo lykely hede of apparance of danger,† and greate obedyence in the gentlemen, who, accordinge to my appoyntmente, mett me at Durham;

* Sir Thomas Gargrave (Vice-President of the North) writes to Sir G. Bowes, on the 8th Feb.:—

"Yf ether Chrystopher or Cuthbert Nevyll be in the Bishoprick, I cold wyshe ye shuld practyse to take them, and yt wyll surely be well taken; and also yf the Lady (Westmoreland) provyde more provysyon then ys necessary, I wold wyshe she shuld be prevented by some menes, and rather than evyll shuld chance, I wold wyshe her removed hether; and that I trust wold make the country there more quyet; but yf she wyll not remove, then I wold have you to use [and] to apply some force to stop soden entents there; and call all the gentlemen and men of welth, and wyll them at theyr perells to remayne dewtyful subjects, and to apprehende suche as be wylful rebells.

The Quenes Majestie lyketh very well of the Yorkshire and northern mens servyce, as they shall here and taste thereof."—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. XVIII. p.* 14.

And on the 9th:—"I can wryte no newes unto you, but that my Lo. Levetenante was very well acceptyd at the Court, and had so comended the servyce of all us northerne men, that her Majestie taketh yt in very good part; and sayeth we shall both know her Majesties good wyll towards us, and also fele yt."—*Orig. Bowes M.S. Vol. XVIII. p.* 15.

† In a letter, dated 8th Feb. from Sir George Bowes to the Earl of Sussex, from Durham, where he went with the Justices and Commissioners to levy 300 footmen (to send to Berwick), he says, they found very good appearance and towardnes of the gentlemen in all things to advance the service. "We found much feare and vague suspicions amongst the people, which, we trust, is well removed, and, in short time, fall to quyetnes. The former rumours certyfied to your Lordship are sundry wise confirmed; but, so far as we can perceive, Christopher Nevill and Cuthbert are departed, and bestowed themselves in other places, where, or to what purposes, we can not yet certainly learn. We understand of no force, nor lykelyhood of any evill attempts to be done in this county to the sturr of the people; but that we trust, upon our remayn here, and with the power we hope to have alwayes in redynes of ourselves and frends about us, to suppress it, wherein we shall do our best endeavour; and, apon any accydents occasyoning any doubts or suspicions, we shall advertise your Lordship."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 20.

where for the levye of the four hnndred footmen, we have taken the same order we dyd in Rychmondshyre, not dowtinge but we shall quietlye make the same without anye assemble. But sewer the people be not soo good here as in Rychmondshyre, for theye be more lowse; soo that if I had not comed, ytt had bene dowtefull what wolde have folowed. Theys brewts was much forthered by the soden departure of the L. Ewrye, the Deane and some be gone from Durham, with there wyfes; and Nevell was here, and may be, but nott in any showe of force. But I wyshe that the howse at Branspeth were skayled, for yt standythe perelowslye; and, under pretence to wayte of my Ladye to London, some of those prisoners comynge, frome there appearance, at Yorke, made more haste then nedytt; which was some occasyon of theys bruts, with also some more provysyon made at that howse then nedes. But I am in full hope, that all here shal be quyet yf greate force come not els where; yett, for my nowne saftye, and that I maye more boldlye goo to meatings, and make some good showe, I kepe with me, as yt were for huntinge, sundrye of good worshippe, and to the number of a hundred men; so that when I ryde furthe I am at leaste four score or more. I have also appoynted with my brother that he shall lye at the Castell of Durham, bothe for the safetye of hys prisoners, and the better governemente of the contrethe; and, with much a doo, I have perswaydytt some of the prebends to tarye in there howses at Durham; and hathe certyfyed my doings to the Lord Levetenante. Desyrous to here frome yowe, to whom I wyshe as to my selfe; prayenge yowe to lett my Ladye understand, as in dede I hope for nothinge here, but that all shal be quyett. I take my leave from the Isle, (where I wyll lye, God willinge,) the ixth of Februarye, 1569.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 43.

Sir George Bowes to Sir Thomas Gargrave, 13th Feb.

Sir,—"According to your letter, I have put two hundred

footmen in such a readiness in the Bishopbrig, as I shall set them furthe," &c.

" For horsemen, I assure yowe there ys none to be made here; for I dare boldlye saye, that at thys instante, besydes my own stable, there ys not twenty fytt horses in all the Byshopbrige, that is knowen of. Wherefore, I praye yower helpe some other waye with them, for before they be provydytt else where, they are not to be had here for noo golde; neyther anye of suffycyencye to make them, but the clargye. For newes, I here that the rebells ryde dalye in greate number, and entryd England of Frydaye laste, with twoo thowsand horsemen, and as manye footemen, with oure rebels with them; but, perceyving our people to be fore warned, they returned, without doinge harme. And sewer they speke greate, and dothe greate evels in Northumberland, so as the Warden of the Myddle Marche ys in suche feare, as he hathe bestowed hymselfe in Alnewycke Castel, and dare hardly styr far abrode; neyther dare men well ryde betwixt Alnwycke and Berwycke, but in greate peril. The Scottysh Lords be at their Parlemente, and their theves have burnt harde to Alnwycke. It was Wednesday before Mr. Randall (Randolph) went into Scotland, steyinge, in the meane tyme, for lacke of suffycient pasporte. Thoo things seame quyett* here, as in dede yet theye are, I am forsed, for the contynuance thereof, to loke with Argus eyes; for sewer yt ys to be dowted there ys some what mente thys waye, at thys next light, for the

* On the 11th Feb. Sir George Bowes writes to Sir Thomas Gargrave, from Heighington:—" Here we be indyfferentlye quyet; yet, so as I watche my howse with eight persons every nyght, without which, and the greate companye I kepe, I durste not lye in theys parts, at leaste in thys open howse."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 21.

Sir George Bowes writes to Sir Ralph Sadler, on the 14th February:—" For newes, the rebells, joining themselves with the Scotts, doth verie often harme to the fronteres, and bragges they wyll enter into the Byshopryck. The rumors wherof, was so greate, that before my returne, most of the clergye, and sundrie others of the better sorte, had left the countrye; so that when I came, I was dryven to use, to some fayre speache, to encourage

avoydinge wherof I wyll yet better strengthen my self, and stand apon my garde; and, as I truste, by Gods helpe, shall preserve quyet; havinge, what with threats, and what with fayre words, gotten some of our churchemen to stand to there tacklynge, and prepare armor and weapon, and not wynges.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 21.

After this period, the letters become less interesting, and relate principally to the difficulty of raising men. The defeat of Leonard Dacres, on the 20th February, and the cruel inroad of the Earl of Sussex on the Scottish Borders, finally relieved the north from all apprehension; and tranquillity was gradually restored. The principal rebels were obliged to fly to the Continent, as Scotland was unable to afford them a safe refuge.

them, and others, sharpe threts, yf they behaved not themselffes dewtyfullye; so that in the ende I have so stayed all, that we remayne indifferently well quyeted, and the people begyn nowe to shewe dewty; thoghe, at my cominge, there was even emongest that sorte, too large speache in shewing the olde good wyll, so depe grafted in ther harts, to their nobles and gentlemen of this country which fledd, is not to be forgotten with thos that shall have rewle heare."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 18.

APPENDIX.

THE REBELLION.

The following brief account of the rebellion, arose out of certain queries sent by Lord Burghley to the Earl of Huntingdon, (Lord President of the North, 1573,) and which he transmitted to Sir George Bowes. In the meantime, however, he had applied to Sir Thomas Gargrave for information.* Sir George writes, on the 8th October:—I have receyved your L. letter, dated the 29th of September, the first of this presente Octobre, being then at Newcastle; in comyng from whence, the second day after, towardes myne owne howse, I was so evell wett that I have remained sore sycke ever synce, soe as I could not awnswere your L. so spedely as I wold; for that the most of my books of thoes causes, and the matter of the rebellion, was left at my house, at Cowten, (to which place I came so sone as ever I durst adventure to come,) in a coffer; which house, not being at before my last comyng from London, was broken, and the coffer

* Lord Burghley's letter is dated 23rd September. The Earl, in his first reply, of the 9th October, regrets that he cannot obtain such detailed information as is required; but he sends what he can procure, and will send further. He states, that Sir Thomas Gargrave thinks the whole number, in all places, would be about 20,000. "For all the inhabitants of the Byshopricke and Rychmondshyre, a few onley excepted, were all rebelles;" that "they toke Lord Latimer, and much money from hym—spoyled his housse—toke hys cattell and horsys—and, besyds, usyd him verye evyll; for they carried him about on horseback, wythout bootes or garements, except hose and dublet. They spoiled Sir W. Bellasys, Bryan Bates, John Wythes, Richard Maleverye, Oglethorpe, whom also they slew, besyds many others." He adds: "Theare ys a boke of the names of 4828 persons which submitted themselves, and were offendors. This boke remaynes with Sir Thomas Gargrave." He expects information from Sir George Bowes.

opened, and a gret parte of the said books spoiled and taken away, by one which I ever thought was sett on bye others to doe that act, which yet wold confesse nothing, althoug he was arreyned and confronted for the same. So as nowe, I am not able to satisfie your L. so fullye as I wold, for that the lack ys greit in my books, which I never looked after; whilst nowe, little dobting that he, that sought gaine, wold spoile books, but yet I find very grete lacks of my said books, and amongst others two of the proclamacons, which was set forth by the Earles. The one proclamed at Darneton, which was but simple; and the other proclamed at Rippon, which was the most effectuall thing they did. But, such as I have, I send your L. herewith; which, for haste, I have no coppies of, and, therefor, humblie prayeth your L. that when your L. have taken your plesor of them, you wold returne the same to my care, for these be nowe the only remanes I have of these matters. And, as for the articles, I have answered to every one of them as well as these causes considered, and the shortnes of the tyme, I cold devise. South Couton, viijth of October.—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 24.

Lord Huntingdon, in his letter to the Lord Treasurer (Burghley) transmitting this narrative, after noticing the regret of Sir George, that his papers were stolen, so that he could not give a better account, says :—" But surely, for any thing I can yet learn, here be the notes of the matters of most moment, shortly compiled. York, 10 Oct, 1573."

1. What the number of the rebells was? and of what qualities they were?

In passinge my circuit to do execution, I did seke to knowe the extent of this former article; and did also inquire to know of the same, of sundrie of the wiser sort of the said rebells, then prisoners at Durham with me; upon whose speaches, and by other collections that I made, I founde that, at the musters at Bramham Moore, where they were the most that ever they were together, they were about three thousand eight hundred, and not four thousand; of all sorts of footmen, the more part being unarmed, arising onelie of artificers, and the meanest sort of husbandmen.

The horsemen, all light horsemen, was betwixt sixteen and seventeen hundred; which, for the most part, were gentlemen and ther household servants and tenants, and the head husbandmen, save a fourscore, or a hundred, which came to the Earle of Northumberland, out of Northumberland; and a three score that came to the Earl of Westmerland, out of Bywell Lordship: so that in sum, I do accompt them to be five thousand five hundred: —Whereof, light horsemen, seventeen hundred; footmen, three thousand eight hundred: in all, five thousand five hundred.

There was not of all these footmen, that were armed to any purpose, above five hundred; and those only with bows and arrows, jacks and bills.

The most of these footmen that came out of Gillingeast, Hallikeld, Hangeast, and thoes about Rippon and Wedderbie, dyd, upon the comyng back of the Earls, stay at their own houses; in whose places the Earls made new levy of Hangeast and Gillingeast, (out of which few did go southward,) and the east and north parts of the Bishoprick; so as when they came to besiege Barnard Castle, they were, by my view, about three thousand two hundred footmen, and fifteen or sixteen hundred light horsemen.

The footmen, two or three dayes before their coming to Barnard Castle, was drawn into bands, and delivered over to captaines: the most whereof was then furnished with bows and arrowes, or with bills and jacks; and about an eight score harquebusses. They were here in the greatest force, for that they were the best furnished; and surelye these were the numbers, and the qualities of them, as far as I can understand.

2. What spoiles or owtrages they commytted upon the Quenes trewe subjects?

They every where, and in every church and chapel where they came, pulled asunder the service books, paraphrases, and other books of skripture, translated into Englishe. But the first spoile of goods they comitted, was of the Lord Latymer; whose house of Snape they entred by force, and tooke from thence many things of great valewe, as yt ys supposed; yet dyd not deal with any hangings or beds, but took all his horses and cattle, goinge only upon his parkes and grounds at Snape aforesayd. They did utterly spoile the house and barnes of Richard

Maliveray; and did also comytt spoille of sundry parsons, vicars, and mynysters, as they lay in Richmondshire, but of no gret valewe; and some bands of theyme strayinge, dyd take away cattle, both from Sir William Belles, Roger Lupton, Thomas Laton, and some others in Cleveland. But the spoils or outrages was not great in Yorkshire, save that they killed Mr. Oglethorp, and took from him, as it is supposed, four score pounds, and the spoils they made of the Lord Latimer and Richard Mauleverer aforesaid. In respect of those they did commit after their return into the bishoprick, for they did wholly spoil from Mr. Dean of Durham, all his household, cattle, and corn; and so did they from the rest of the residue of the churchmen of Durham, with some others of the spirituality. They did spoil Mr. Calverley,* Chancellor of Durham, of all his moveables, Bartram Anderson, Francis Bainbridge, and Thomas Middleton, esquires, besides Franklin, of Cocken; and also thrashed most of their corn. They did spoil all my house and grounds of Streatlam, the Isle, South Cowton, Stockton and Evenwood, being then demesnes in mine own occupation; stocked with my own goods, and the Castle and Parks of Barnard Castle, whereunto I had drawn the greatest substance of all my moveables, except sheep. As for my corn about Streatlam and Barnard Castle, it did serve them for their horses; and from thence they sent thrashers to thrash out my corn at all my other tithe barns and

* Of Littleburn, Temporal Chancellor of the Diocese. He was of the family of Calverley, of Calverley; and ancestor to the branch of Eryholme. He married Isabel, daughter of Bertram Anderson, whose wedding-ring bore the inscription—"UNG: D.R. T.C. JE. I. Serverey—Ung dieu, Roy, Thomas Calverley, je Isabel Serverey." Shortly after the rebellion, he repaired to London, with the following letter from Sir Thomas Gargrave to Cecil:—

"My dewtey, &c. Emonges others, the rebells at theyr beyng together in the Bishoprig of Durysme, dyd spoyle the berrer, Thomas Calverley, beyng a yong man, and hayd newly sett up howse, and furnyshed the same, to his power. They left him nothyng, neither to relyfe hymselfe, hys wyff and fameley, nor to pay his rent wythall. Ther was none that was knowne to favor relygyon that they left unspoyled. The berrar proclamyd them traytors; he levyed men in the Bishoprick, and went himself with them to Barney Castell, to Sir George Bowes, and lefte the men ther, and returned to Newcastle; where he served, and kepte watche and warde, and was delygent to sett furthe the servyce there, for the defence of that towen, to his power. He was of Lyncolnes Inne, and is lerned in the lawes, and ys honest in relygyon. And yf yt be thought convenyent to releyve any, I humble beseche your honor to stand his good master, and help hym. Thus I am ever bold to troble your Mastershippe, and not able to serve you other ways then with my prayour, good wyll, and affection, the wyche I am bounden to owe you; and do humble besech God long to preserve you, to his pleasure and your good contentacon. From York, in haste, the xxx of Jan."—*Orig. S. P.*

houses; so as when the rebellion was done, I found not so much as straw, but either carried away, or cast out of the doors.

The Earl of Westmerland did, by warrant and inventory, receive all the household stuff and goods of the Bishop of Durham; which, remaining at the end of the rebellion, [was] for the most part, delivered by like inventory again. In the beseiging of Barnard Castle, they killed five men, three within and two without. That night the skirmish was, they hurt, with arquebus shot, three score and seven within the Castle. These were the greatest spoils and outrages they committed, so far as I know, although small numbers falling from them did commit sundry other small spoils and robberies which are hard to be remembered.

3. How many were pardoned?

To thys I can hardly make any certeyne answer, for that I am the least acquainted in this cause of all the rest.

4. Howe many were receyved upon submission?

Thys ys, also, uncerteyne to me, for that the whole books of such as did submyt, were delivered to Sir Thomas Gargrave; but sure the numbers thereof was great, for, as I heard him and Mr. Attorney report, there were betwixt a xi or xii thousand: and there ys great reason yt should be soe, for as there went, for the most part, but small numbers forth of every town to the Earls, the rest bearing in charges with them, the whole people of which towns did submit, for the avoiding of the danger they knew themselves come into by law. So, in mine opinion, the number was more than double that did submit, then those that entered into actual rebellion; for, in looking through such books as I have, I find in divers places, that there was not past five or six in a town that entered into actual rebellion, yet was there in the same towns twelve, fifteen, or sixteen, that did submit, and, for most part, payed fines; which leadeth me to believe that they cannot be less than eleven or twelve thousand, as aforesaid.

5. How many did suffer, and of what quality they were?

The number that was appointed to suffer was seven hundred and odde; but what did directly suffer, I cannot truly say, for that the execution in Bywell Lordship, Examshire, and Northumberland, which was a parcel hereof, was appointed to Sir John Forster, then Lord Warden, and not delt in by me; neither

ever came there any certificate thereof to my hands, for all things was lapt up in haste. And there was sundrye other places where there was of this number to be executed that none of the men could be gotten, for that they wholly fledde, and did kepe secret to my commission was ended; so that never anie of the men in thes townshippes came before me; and, therefore, yt ys unknowen to myself the certenty of the numbers executed, but the appointment was seven hundred and some odde, as ys aforesaid. And I am much hyndered of the knowledge hereof, for the causes recited in your L. letter.

As for their qualities that were executed by the marshall lawe, they was wholly of the meanest of the people, except the Alderman of Durham,* Ploumtree,† their preacher, the constables, and a fifty servinge men, that were executed at Durham. The rest were of the meanest, as is aforesaid, and greatest offenders; for there was none executed by me, but such as did confesse with their owne mouths that they were in the actual rebellion, two dayes at least after the expyration of the first pardon; and stirrers of the rest of their neighbors to the rebellion, or the contynuance of the same. And those executed by law be these following:—

AT YORKE.

John Foulthroppe, Esquyre. Robert Pennyman.
Symon Dygbye, Esquyre. Thomas Byshoppe.

ATT LONDON.

Thomas Norton, Esquyre. ——— Wilkinsone.
Xpofer Norton, Gent.

Original, Harleian MS. No. 6991, *pp.* 31, 32, *and* 33; *and a rouyh Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 24.

* Called, Struthar.—*Howes' Chronicles, p.* 664.

† In Fenelon's unpublished dispatch, (21st Jan.) he mentions the numerous executions of the Earl of Sussex, amongst which was le Sr. *Thomas Plumbeth*, estime home fort scavant, et de bonne vie—et pense l'on qu'il se monstre, aussi vehement por effacer le souspecon qu'on a heu de luy.—*Archives de France.*

"The only priest that appeared openly amongst the rebels at this time (once said mass) was parson Plombtree, an old Queen Mary's priest, who being taken and convicted by due form of lawe, was putt to death for the same; though, as some writers affirm, had mercy offered him, in case he would go to church, which he refused to do."—*MS. No* 168, *Burton Constable; entitled, "The Doctrine of the Clergy concerning the dutie of Subjects to the Civil-Magistrate."*

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S CONFESSION.

When the Earl of Northumberland was delivered into the custody of Lord Hunsdon, in 1572, certain interrogatories were transmitted from Cecil; which were answered by the Earl, as follows:—

1. What conferens have you, or any by your meanes, hadde with the Spanish Imbassador, att any tyme heretofore, and specially before your rebellion, touchyng the Scottish Queen; or for any other mater, and where, and howe often, and what was th effect thereof?

Uppon the Queens Majesties letters, I repaired to the Courte, lodginge at Westminster, at Skynners. The firste or second night after, the Spanish Embassador sent one of his servants to me with salutacions, without opening of any message; I geving him thankes, said, I woold viset him before my departure. I firste made my repaire to the Quenes Majesties presence, lieng at Hampton Court; I did soondry times returne back againe to Westminster, and, as I think, remained as long there as at the Courte; partly because of my ill lodginge, and also for that my legge was brused with the fall of my horse. I never sent to the Embassador, or harde from him, untill the laste daie I was to departe homewards. Then went I to him a lyttle before the breake of daye; findinge him in his bed, sitting by him, talked with him about the space of half an howre, Thomas Bates being myne onlie interpreter. I first gave him thanks for his salutation, and gentle remembrance, which he sent unto me by his servante. He told me what good liking and affection the King, his master, hath ever had towards me, especially for that he sawe me so well inclined towards the

Catholick religion; much lamenting the state and decay thereof, within this realme, and saithe, it is the part of every noble and christian man to put to their furtherance and helpe for the advancement of the honor and glory of God and Catholick fayth. I answered, as for mine owne part, I as much wished and desired an unitie in that as any other man; and shall therein shewe myself both dutifully and as becometh me, when so ever time or occasion thereunto shall serve. And thus passing awhile with suche like talke, with the examples of other countries, bearing not nowe in memory; but most certaine of no weight, nor of importance.

I wished a mariage betwixt the Kinge, his master, and the Queene of Scotts, and then I woold hope some good success woold followe thereof; he answered nothinge to that, but wagged his hed, as though he seemed that coold not be. I demanded of him, also, howe muche it was the Q. My. had of the Kings treasure, that landed in the West Country; he told me, but I have forgotten the same. Me thought he did forbeare much to enter into any great matter with me; wether it was for that he misliked my long delay in coming to him, driven off till the last hour, and then could not make any tarrying, for beeing seene in my departing, the daye growing light; or els that he liked not mine interpreter, who had much ado to utter the speach passed betwixt us; or, peradventure, he judged me to have small affection to the mariage of the Duke, because he heard me wish the other. But for any matter for the advancement of the Q. of S. title with the invasion of strangers, or any other thing to the perilling of the Qs. Maj. estate, that harde I not, as I am fully perswaded, and the truth therein will soone appeare, by demanding the same of the said Thomas Bates, who I think standeth nowe in such termes as behoveth him to concele nothing.

And for all that passed betwixt the Embassador and me at that time, I might referre to his better memory, then myne own. Upon our returne back, when we were uppe at Rabye, about that time the Earle of Westmoreland laide siege to Barna Castell; there came one to us, he saide from the Spanish Embassador and the Bishop of Rosse, to vewe and see our estate, and likelihoode, howe longe we were able to keepe together; who did encorage us we shoold have ayde from the Duke de Alva, within twenty

daies. Frauncis Norton and Markenfeild seemid as they knewe him to be one of credit, belonginge to the Queene of Scotts; but the most of us thought it was olde Richarde Nortons devise to cheere us, to keepe and contynue together, for breakinge and devidinge ourselves, as we oftentimes were in hand. This is all, in my remembrance, I can saie to the first.

2. What conference have you, or your wiff hadd with the Scottishe Q. or with any other for hyr, at any tyme sens shee came fyrst into England; and howe often; and what was th effecte thereof?

My wife never sawe her, nor myself, but at Carlile, in the presence of many, about half an houre; John Hamlen brought the firste letter to me, and tokens with all, to bothe my wife and me; likewise John Leveston, a gentleman of hers, brought two or three letters, at soondry times, from her. The effect of every of them was geving thanks for my good affection towards her, and that she did muche accompte of me, with desire of the continuance of my good will.

The which letters I answered severally. The effect was, that she shoold not neede to doubt of me, but shall finde me ready as shal become me in all things; prayeinge her to have special regarde for the advauncement of the Catholique religion. No letter aunswered, was written by myne owne hand, but by my servant, Robartt Hekyngton; and no matter of weight or of importance was touched in any of the saide letters of hers or myne, then, as before I said, sekinge to wyn me, and to be inclyned towards her. Also, beinge in my lodginge at Westminster, one Burthyck, a gentleman of hers, came to my bedd side early in the morning, with the salutacions from the Q. of S. and thanks for my good will and affection towards her; and suche kinde of faire speeche as they wanted not, without entring into any great matter. Moreover, the Bishoppe of Rosse cam to my lodginge in Westminster, who seemed to feed me in myne humour; as thoughe the Q. of S. woold otherwise bestowe herself in mariage then of the Duke. I demanded of him how farre was proceeded in her matters amonge the Lords that were in commission; and he told me he hoped it woold growe to a very good end, and made some discourse therof. He asked myne opinion howe the noblemen were inclined, and likewise the

gentlemen of the northe parte ; I shewed him therein my phansy ; familiar talk we had, but none of weight to enterprise, or take in hande, or about any practise.

3. What token or messages have you or your wyff sent to hyr, or receyved from hyr, at any tyme heretofore ?

Tokens were sent most commonly with the letters : as myself recieved a ring with a diamonde, about the valewe of v li. or vi li. by Hamlen ; my wife likewise, at the same time, an other token, of smaller valewe. At another time, by Jhon Leviston, a crosse of gold, about a iv li. or v li. ; and so likewise to my wife, a little stone, set in a tablet of gold. Also, at another time, by Frauncis Norton, a ringe with a lytle diamond ; which was the last, without writing, or sending any token at that tyme againe. By the saide Hamlen and Leviston, my wife and I did sende such tokens and trifles as we had. The messeages were of small effect, saving I opeind myne opinion with Jhon Leviston how muche it was misliked, not only with me, but with soondrye others, that she shoold bestowe herself in mariage with the Duke, for that he was coumpted to be a Protestant. And if she ever looked to recover her estate, it must be by the advauncing and mayntayning of the Catholicke fayth ; for there ought to be no haulting in those matters : and if the Duke were a sound Catholick, I would as much rejoyce and be as glad of that match as any other. And willed Jhon Leviston to shewe thus muche to the Quene. I did, as I remember, partly touche the same in some of my said letters.

4. What was the devyses or meanes that you devysed, or that was devysed by others, and opened unto you, for the takyng away of the Scot. Q. ; and howe many were privy to those devyses ; and how shuld the same have been executyd ?

My coosin Leonard Dacres, Frauncis Norton, and Markinfeeld, did conferre with me, whether the Queen of Scotts might be by any meanes possibly gotten to liberty. My said coosin and Frauncis Norton seemed to geve the attempt, if they coold finde any likelyhoode of good successe ; and agreed that my said coosin and F. Norton shoold repaire so neere as they coold to the Earle of Shrewsbury, and to practise the matter with such acquaintance, as my said cousin had in that howse ; and if he sawe towardnes and likelyhoode to get her conveied from thence, then

shoold he have twenty spare geldings sent him, with as many men of the principall of our howsehold servaunts conveyed unto them two, secretly, by twoos and threes, and so upon their advertisement, we to meet them in the half way. My said coosin and F. Norton were departed about this matter, and as the matter was sodainly talked of, so were they sodainley returned againe; and but ij daies absent, reporting that they coold not bringe [it] to passe.

5. For what cause, or intent, shuld the said Scot. Q. have been taken away?

The cause and intent was in the having of her, that we hoped thereby to have some reformation in religion, or at the least some sufferance for men to use ther conscience as they were disposed; and also the liberty of freedome of her whom we accompted the second person, and right heyre apparente.

6. At what tyme was yt ment and intendyt that shee shuld have bene proclamed Quene of England, yf shee hadde bene taken away; and by whome; and how many were privy to that devyse and intent?

I doe not remember, I harde it opeind or moved at any mans hands, to proclaime her Q. of Ingland.

7. What message have you sent to the sayd Scot. Q. by Francis Norton, John Hamlyn, or any other; and howe often; and what answeres have you receyved agayne?

No messeages were sent to, nor fro, to my remembraunce, at any time, then before is said.

8. What conference have you hadde with any touchyng the mariage of the sayd Scot. Q.; and howe often; and what was th effect thereof. And with whom dyd you or any other of your confederates purpose that shee shuld have maried?

Some liked her mariage one way, and some another way. As the Earle of Westmoreland, his uncles, and some of the Northons, liked well the matche to be with the Duke. My cousin Dacres, I, and some others, wished her bestowed on a sound Catholique; yea, and if it were with some other forreine Prince. But this conference was little or nothing spoken of, but kept secret to ourselves; for that the Q. sent to me (and I think to others to) to will us to seeme contented, and to like of the matche. Also Christopher Lassels came to my house, to Lekin-

feeld, when the Q. of Scotts lay at Boulton, at suche time as I little thought of any matche towarde between her and the Duke; and cast out suche matter, howe necessary and commodious a thing it might be to this realme, if the Q. of S. shoold marry the Duke, and so made a great discourse, and said: suche greate and like matter hath bene set first abrooche by as meane men as he; and the bringing it to effect must be by noblemen and others of great estate. He asked me how I liked thereof; I said, well. He willed me to write to the Q. of S. and something to touch and wish the same. I desired first to understand her affection therein. And when that he could not obteyne any letter frome me, then he movid me, that yf he shoold bring one from her, something to touch to that effecte; whether I would then put my furtherance and good will for the advancement thereof, or no. I said, as I shoold finde by the contentes of her letter, so would I do. He brought afterwards a letter unto me, (but it seemid not to be her owne hand,) very gentely and courteously written, and could hardly conceave the meaning thereof; but, as it seemed to me, rather pressed me to shew mine opinion and likinge, then I coold gather any way of hers, and as though the same were procured by the messengers meanes. I dispatched him with faire words, without wrighting, which contented him not.

9. What conferences have you hadd with the Duke of Norfolk, or with any other for hym, touchyng the mariage of the sayd Scot. Q. or touching any thyng to be done for the sayd Scot. Q. or for the sayd Duke; and what was th effect therof; and how many have bene privy to the same?

The firste time that ether I sent or spake with the Duke about the mariage of the said Q. was in Yorke, a senight after his coming thyther. John Leveston being in hand with me soondry times to breake the matter with the Duke, and so [I] did with an unwilling mynde. The Duke gave me thancks, and seemid to take my speaking and good will in good parte; more for that mariage did I never deale, nor speak after that. And for any thing to be done touching the said Q. or Duke, I do not remember at any time; saving uppon the Dukes coming into his countrye, I sent a servant unto him to understande what he meand to do, or what he would wishe me to do. Ether the

messenger brought me woorde, or els the Earl of Westmerland told me, that his friends and chief gentlemen in his Countrie seemeid to refuse him. And yet as I remember, he gave his hande unto my said servaunte, that he woold stande and abide the venture, not to go up; and, as occasion afterwards servid, he woold sende to me with speed.

The messenger, was ether Thomas Hussey, or els Rob. Heighington. That being demanded of him, will shewe what was said or doon, to whose better report I must referre myself, rather then to myne owne memorye; but yf Tho. Hussey was not sent thither, I sent him to the Span. Embassador, to have his advice what he woold wishe to have us to do, and he (as I remember) advysed us not to sturre.

That advise, and my message was, after the Duke was committed to the Towre. Cantrell brought a letter to me from the Duke, the effect whereof was, for so much as he had bene moovid by soondry noble men and his frends, he thought it appartaynid him not to enter into yt without the advise and consent of his deare frends; amongst which he accompted me one. And, thereunto, I aunswered by woord of mouthe, he shoold fynd my liking therein, as he should find of other Noblemen.

10. How often dyd you conferre with Leonard Dacres, Oswald Wylkynson, Harll and his sonnes, Thomas Battes, Thomas Byshoppe, or Thomas Hussey, your servant, or with any other, touching the takyng away of the sayd Scot. Q.; or for any other thyng to be done, or executed for hyr; and what was th effect of the same conferences?

My coosin Dacres was with me (as I remember) two or three soondry times: at some one time (as I take it) was the Earle of Westmerlande, old Norton, or his soon, and Markenfield, with my said cosin and me. The same time it happenid, a servant of the Dukes, called Havers, one of his chamber, was sent from his master to the Earle of W. from Roiston, as the Duke repayred to the Quenes Majesty, upon her commandment. The said Havers would not be seen; but sent to my L. of W. to speake with him, and to meete him, a flight shoote of my park of Toplife, by four of the clock, the next morning. After the said Lord had talked with him a while, he returned unto us, and told us, the Duke had sent suche a man unto him only; and

required him, for all the brotherly love that is betwixt them, that he woold not sturre ; for if he did, the said Duke was then in daanger of losing of his hed. And as for the Earle of Northumberland, (saith he,) "let him do what him list." Thus muche the Earle of W. said unto us. And more he saith : that, notwithstanding this message, he woold take such part as we did. And for so muche as my coosin Dacres and I sought, by all meanes possible, to avoyde and putt off to enter into those trobles ; finding the matter so apparantly to shewe, without all likelihoode of successe ; and, againe, to kepe our credit amonge the rest of our companions, (who were then so whot and earnist, that no way, but they woold sturre, notwithstanding all the doubts and perills we laid afore them,) devised my said coosin Dacres shoold seeme willing forthwith to enter the matter ; and so shewed unto my Lo. of W. seeing it rested in us two, the delaying thereof, we were ready to proceede therein the next Moonday following. As the most seemed glad thereof, so did my Lo. of W. say :—"Sirs, for that yow are amynded thus to proceede in this matter, let me knowe what the quarell shal be." Sayd they : "for religion." "No," saies he againe, "those that seeme to take that quarrel in other countreis, are accompted as rebells ; and therefore, I will never blot my howse, which hath been this longe preserved without stayning." Thus came it to passe, as my said coosin and I loked for, to the intent we might excuse ourselves to the rest, that they shoold se no fault in us ; for we ever judged of my Lo. of W. he was ever unwilling to the matter, but only pressed and sore urged by others. Uppon this we brake, my Lord returning home to his countrie, and my cosen Dacres departed ; so that I never saw him since. Yet, or the weeke was ended, Old Norton, Markenfield, and others, resorted unto me with great perswasions, saying : "For so much as we have so often times assembled and talked together, we coold not be able to answer it ; and, therefore, seeing our perill is so great, and our action so just, we muste, of force, ether to enter into the matter without the said Earle, and take such fortune as God shoold sende ; or els we must seke to departe out of the realme. The one woold be a marvelous blot and discredit, moste to you noblemen, and something to us, thus to depart, and to leave of this godly enterprise ; that is so ex-

pected and looked for at our hands, throughout the body of the whole realme; who, no doubt will, in this case, so readily assist, as you will thinke it woonderous;" with many other such like things, very earnestly expressed. I being then but myself alone, willed them to repayre home, and conferre amongst themselves; that when they have resolved which way is most fittest to be executed, uppon good deliberation, reason, and grounde, leaving of generalyties, and hope of this, or that, without good shewe or likelyhoode; which, uppon their resolution, maie returne unto me agayne, and they shall find me appliable unto all reason.

They were uppon this, as I remember, xiiii daies absent; at which time they seemid to me so forwarde, and incoraged by many gentlemen out of the Bishoprick, and suche of the best as were belonging unto the said Earle, to enter into the matter; that they woold, notwithstanding the said Earle refusing, joyne with me. Some of that countrie, of good calling, resorted unto me, to quicken me therein. After their coming againe to me, (the Nortons, Markenfield, and other gentlemen of the Bishoprick) as they seemid earnest, so laied I before them certaine doubts: one was, the Lord President had a greate suspition of our dooings, and seemid to provide therefore; who, bearing that credit with a great part of such as we accompted of, besides the authoritye therewithal, woold so handle the matter, as I doubted we shoold not be able to escape him alone, much more the realme; besides, not knowing their dispositions, but upon our conjectures. And for as muche as you put an hope and affiance in the moste parte of the gentlemen in this countrie, to joyne with us, after they have seen us once entred into the matter; I shall write to suche as you shall think fitt, by a secret and trusty messenger, Tayler, of Tadcastre; and thereby we shall understand their inclinations, and may proceede thereafter. And so did most plainly, without colour; and answered agayne, with such coldnes, as misliked us. Then was that a stoppe unto them, yet but for a time; for afterwards they devised a way to take the Lord President and Counsell: and then might we not only be out of all feare, but also occasion to allure the most or all of the gentlemen and country unto us. I said unto them, for so much as it must lye in me, and my household servants, to enterprise this matter; I would therefore gladly have my Lo. of W. joyne

with me. They seemed, as they might possibly perswade him thereunto ; for it was so likely a thing to further our cause.

They devised, that uppon a Soonday, my Lord President, with the Counsell, the Mayor, and the Aldermen being at the sermon ; [I] should depart from my house, at Topliffe, in the morning, so as I might be in a wood in the forest of Gawtrees, four miles from York, by ten of the clock ; and then to have one well horsed to be in the towne, to bring us word when the bell left knowling, ready to the sermon ; and so with speed to come to the church,* and keepe the twoo doores ; which, taking them uppon the same suddaine, might force them to yeald unto us. They devised, my Lord of Westmoreland should be ymedeatly coming after, or els joyne with me ; I have forgotten whether.

Thus were they a while lifted up with this hope, and travaled to bring my said Lord thereto ; and, for that it seemed unto me, neither was the said Earl willing thereunto greatly, notwithstanding he was sore pressed and delt withall, nor myself willing to attempt such a matter, as was likely to breade any bloudshed. And they, seeing slacknes in me, passed it over ; and the rather, for that I perswaded with them how fit it was to have the advice of such high estates as favoured our cause first, before we entred. For, peradventure they might advise us upon further respects, to them knowen, some one way or other, as might be more for our advancement and safety, then we could judge of ; and so would take upon me to send to the Earle of Darby, to knowe his disposition ; likewise to the Q. of S. ; and another up to London, to the Embassador. The said Q. sending us her advise, she thought it better not to sturre ; likewise the Embassador to that effect, as I think. Thomas Hussey is able to testify, whom I sent up, as before I said, ether thither, or to the Duke ; uppon these answeres, were our company greatly descouraged, and resting a time, everey man uppon his guard.

I was forced to depart my house, uppon the soddaine of a false larum ; and, thinking to have repayred to Anwick, I tooke my Lo. of W. in my way. Finding with him all the Nortons, Markenfeild, his two uncles, the two Tempestes, John Swinborne, and Sir Jhon Nevell, coming by chaunce the next daie

* The Lord President had a seat built in St. Olave's.—*Drake's York, p.* 260.

after; and so found the said Earle so furnished with his men and frends, as ready to enter forthwith; which seemed unto me very strange, he was brought to that, when all good hope was paste, and more fitted for us to seke to conveigh ourselves awaie. We sat downe, and advised what was to be doon; and, after everie man had spoken his mynde, my Lorde, his uncles, Old Norton, and Markenfeeyld, was earnest in opiniou to proceed in the cause. Francis Norton, John Swinborne, myself, and some others, were of contrarie opinion; and so reasoning howe the same should be maynteyned and continued, the one side restinge uppon hope, the other partie thinking it an impossibility, brake and departed, every man to provide for himself. My Lady Westmerland, hearing that conclusion, cried out, weeping bitterly, and said: we and our countrie were shamed for ever; that nowe in the ende, we should seeke holes to creepe into. Hereupon, departed Markenfeeld, Francis Norton, John Swinborne, and the two Tempestes, the father and the soon; providing to make shift for themselves. The morning following, I thought to departe myself; then, my Lords uncles, Old Norton, and other gentlemen, were so importunate of me to have my Lo. and me not to sundre; for if we do, we shoold not only cast ourselves away, but them also. So coold I not departe that day; but remayned, with great persuasions, still to enter into the matter.

There was no one of us, at any time, had that spright or thrifte to speake or provide for any shippe, or other waies, for our conveyance; which, if any such thing had been moovid, it would have been hearde, and liked of then, and long before, as I think. When I saw I could not get away, I promised to agree to what they would doe. They remayned still in that opinion to rise. I, agreeing with them, said I woold into Northumberland and provide my force there; and would be ready to joyne with the said Lord, about the Water of Tyne, against such time as our adversaries should come against us; and to hazzard the matter in such place, as most might advantage us. They utterly misliked I should, in any respecte departe. I told them of necessity I must, unles they would have me to go under my Lords standerd, without any force of mine owne, saving eight servants which I had with me; and, therefore, I would departe. Meaning, indeed, to perfourme our saings for meeting agayne, except my said Lo.

shoold perceave so great a number to come against us, as we should not be able to match withall; and, therupon, if he should think otherwise, more fitter than to geve the hazard in battaile, I woold yeeld unto it, if I thought it with reason.

The next morninge my Lo. conducted me a mile and more from his howse; and, after I had bydden him farewell, and departed about an arrow shott, the Nortons and certaine other gentlemen cam after me, and willed me to come back, with very earnest meanes and persuasions: that ourselves were caste away, and them to, if my Lo. and I should sunder. And thus flocking about me, one of my servants, George Pryngell, plucked me by the sleve, and said, I must return back, for that some of the others was desperately bent; and so returning, meeting with my said Lo. agayne, riding softely, as I thought, homewards to his house, passed by, towards Durham. And when I perceived that, and understood by them they meant to beginn the matter there, I would no further, and wylled my Lord to repayr home; to his house, and to take better advertisement howe to do. Walking up and downe there, till the sun was sett, riding nether one way nor other, notwithstanding their great perswasions; they seeing I coold not be brought unto it, one of my said Lords servants, named Wightman, came hard behinde me, and said, I should not choose but go. "Then," quoth I, "if it be so, have with you." My servants shewed unto me afterwards, if I had not turned back at the first time, some of the others meant me a displesure.* As I have playnly discovered, and opeind all our doings and conferences; so may William Norton (whome I thinke to be in durance) testify all, or the most of this, to be true. As for Oswald Wilkinson, being my farmer of certaine milles, and coming to me about his business in the time that certaine gentlemen aforesaid was with me Toppcliffe; I thought it best to send him poste up to London to the Spanish Embassador; not remembring well whether I wrote or no, to let him understand in what extreamity we be, either to flee our country, or enter into armes, and to bring his answer. And for that my money was much spent in the sending messengers to and fro, the rather desired the said Wilkinson to take paynes in that journey; who

* Originally written "ment an ill turne."

seemed contented both to bestowe his labour and chardges, departed and repayred up. But, upon his return back agayne, coming to York, he was there stayed; and so we had neither message, nor answere.

As for Hawle, I knowe not; and for Thomas Bishop, [he] came unto me to Toplyffe; but, truly, I have forgotten what was his errant, for I have had little liking to him, for he hath forced me to sue the lawe of him soondrie yeares together, for my rentes he ought to have paid; yet must I refer me to his better memory and report. He was under my garde all the while we were up, until we fled into Scotland. As for Thomas Bartick, I knowe not, unless it be one Barthick, the Queen of Scots man, that came to my bedside to my lodging, in Westminster, as I have opeind before; more of him can I not say. And, as for Thomas Hussey, I have shewed before as much as I remember, touching him.

11. When dyd you fyrst enter into the conspiracie of the late rebellion; and howe many were privy thereto; and howe often dyd you and others conferre thereof?

We did first beginne to talk of these matters, about the time of the Dukes departure in displeasure from the Coort, to his house in London. Whereupon arose a great bruit in Yorkshire, the namyng of a successor was in hand agayne; and the Lords of the Privy Counsell woonderfully devided. The Duke home to his countrey, other noblemen likewise to theyres, and so was it thought all the realme would be in hurly burley about the same; which occasion moved me most especially, not only to send unto the Duke, but also to assemble my friends, and to advise with them, and to knowe their inclinations. Afterwards, the matter being well liked upon, and much favored with, many gentlemen was aminded to join, and take suche parte as the Duke did, if the quarrell should be for reformation of religion, or for nominating of the heire apparent; for thoose two causes I woold much danger myself.

As for the mariage only, I never had will nor intent to put me in hasarde. That doing, gave me such a distrust in myself, as I feared was an occacyon to myne unfrends about her Majestie, to pike a quarrell against me; and so uppon the Dukes repayre to the Court, and understanding the bruites to be

untrue for the naming of succession, I sought from that forward all the meanes and wayes I could possible, to forbeare to rise, or sturre. Yet for the kepinge in of those gentlemen that seemed at the first so frankly to take my parte, I shewed not greatly to mislike their earnest maners in seking to put the same in execution, as before is said; and yet put them off with such dilatory meanes and ways, as above is specified, untill the last, that I was drawn into it per force. There was privy to this:—The Erle of Westmorland, his two uncles, Sir John Nevill, Robert* Norton, Francis Norton, with other of his brethren; Master Vavisor of Haselwood, Master Plumpton of Plumpton, Andrewe Oglethorpe, Christopher Danby, Robert Tempest of Homesede, and his soon, John Swinborne, Markenfield of Markenfield. Some of these was of mine affection, for the two causes before said; other some, as it seemed so earnest that they might be doing, making to sure accompte all would come as they would have it. And as the said Earl of Westmerland ever seemed to be colde therein, so am I perswaded it had never been attempted, but throughe the earnist meanes of my Lady his wief.

12. When was the Duke of Norfolk fyrst mayd privy to the sayd conspiracie; and what message was sent unto hym by you, or by the Erle of Westmerland, or any other, touching that mater?

I can say noe more than is before touched.

13. What message received you or th Earle of W. from the sayd Duke, touching that mater?

I receaved noe message by the Erle of Westmerland from the Duke, then before is said.

14. What was the intent and meanyng of the sayd rebellyon, and for what cause or intent was it chiefly taken in hande?

The intent and meaning of us uppon our first conferences and assemblies, was only and specially for the reformacion of religion, and the preservation of the second person, the Queen of Scotts, whom we accompted by Gods lawe and mans lawe to be right heire, if want should be of issue of the Queens Majestys body. Which two causes I made full accompt was greatly favoured by the most part of noblemen within this realm, and

* Sic in orig. Should be Richard.

especially for Gods true religion. I was in hope, (although I had little for me) both the Earl of Leicester and my Lord Burleigh had been blessed with some godly inspiracon by this time of the daye, to have discerned cheese from chalke; the matters being so evidently discoursed by the learned divines of this our tyme; and especyally my Lord of Burleigh, who is indued with so singular a judgment. I name them two the rather, for that they beare the sway about the Prince; able inough to bring her Majesty to the truthe therin. And nowe, finding myself deceived of that expectation, I can noe more do; but shall pray faythfullie to Almighty God, to indue her highness and them with his grace, that they may knowe him, and feare him aright. To the rest of this article, I have discoursed before, so much as is necessary.

15. Whether was yt ment by you and others in that rebellion, to have taken the Scot. Q. frome the custody where she was kept; and, yf you cold have taken hyr, whether was yt ment to have proclaimed hyr Quene of England; and what was the principal and stey thereof?

I have fully answerred, in the other articles before, as may appeare in the 4th, 5th, and 6th.

16. What forren force and ayde was promyssed to you and others, your confederats, for the mayntenance of the sayd rebellion; and by whome; and by whome had you knolledg therof?

As I looked and hoped for maintenance and aide by the moste of the nobilitye, if it had come to such pas, as before is specified, that is, for the reformation of religion, and division, as was reported, for the appoynting a successor; so was I out of all hope, of ether ayd or mayntenance, after the Dukes first committing to the Tower. So was there at no time any ayde or maintenance promised unto me, ether by the Scotch Q. Spanish Embassador, or any others, then as is before said, in the later end of the first of my former articles.

17. What force was promysed unto you, by any person in England, to joyne with you in that rebellion; and by whome?

I have answered before, as much as I can saie.

18. Whether were you reconsyled to the Church of Rome before you dyd enter into the sayd rebellion; and how many do you know that were reconsyled; and by what meanes; and by whome?

I was reconsyled by one Master Copley, two yeares and more, before our sturr. As for others, I can not be able to testify, but as by heare say; as all the rest before named that were of our confederacy.

19. Whome dyd fyrst give you to understand of the bulle, that came from Rome agaynst the Q. Majeste; and by what meane was that bulle obteyned; and howe many doe you knowe that were privy and consentyng to yt; and where, and how often was Morton, an old prest, with you, to confer with you, uppon that bull?

I never perfectley understood of any bull that came from Rome, against the Q. Majestie; [being] then in Loghleven. I heard it reported, there shoold be one set uppon the Coorte gates; and afterwards sett uppon the Privey Chamber doore, as was said. Ther was a scruple and division amongst us, after the Dukes first committing to the Towre, whether we ought by Gods lawes to rise against our Prince, or no; being our anoynted Prince. We refered the judgment therof to learned men; and the same being demanded of a couple, the one being singularly well learned, (whose name I knowe not,) the other being Master Coply, that reconciled me; ther judgments was, (and shewed us the scriptures,) we ought not to wager battaile against our annoynted Prince, unles they were lawfully excommunicated by the hed of the church. Then said the other party, that was thought to be a lawful excommunication, when that the Pope did sende to the Q. Matie. for sufferance to sende his Embassadors unto her presence; which being denied, they said that Dr. Mortons opinion was, for that cause, her highnes was lawfully excommunicate; and so, consequently, lawful to take armes against her. Thus much did Markenfield report, of the said Dr. Morton; being at that time, beyond the seas. The most of us thought it was rather his owne imagination, to advaunce the matter, then otherwise; yet, notwithstanding, the other two divines thought it not sufficient, unles the excommunication had been orderly published within the realm.

This scruple did not only perswade Sir John Nevell and me to forbeare the matter; but also occasioned sundry other gentlemen to withdraw themselves from us. As for Dr. Morton, he was once at my house, and I spake with him about an howre;

and he opeind unto me no suche matter of any bull, or promise of aide from the Pope; but lamented he sawe so great want of sound and catholick priests, that he might give authoritie to them for reconciling suche of the people as would seeke. More than this delt I not with him.

20. What ayde or releiff was promised to you, and other your confederates in that rebellion, eyther frome Rome, or from the Scot. Q. or the Duke Alfa, or the Duke of Norfolk, or frome any other?

I have answered in my former articles as muche as I can, that might be conteyned in this; for no other relief then before is specified, was ever promised, that I hard of.

21. What was the message that you sent to the Spanish Ambassador, by Charles Hussey, Taylor of Tadcaster, or of Oswald Wylkynson, unto the Bishop of Ros, a lyttel before your enterpryse to the said actuall rebellion?

All that is to be spoken in this article, I have expressed before.

22. What message or tokens, receyvede you from the Scot. Q. when you were in the sayd rebellion; and by whome; and what was th effecte therof; and what was the message that Tho. Byshoppe brought unto you from hyr?

I do not remember any message of any purpose, ether to encorage us, or to perswade us foreward in the matter, at any time; and what message Tho. Bishoppe brought, it is out of my memory, as before I said.

23. What was the message that Havers, servant to the Duke of Norfolk, brought to you, or to the Erle of Westmerland, frome the sayd Duke, a lyttell before the rebellion?

The message that Havers brought, was only to my Lord of Westmerland; and as before I said.

24. When was the Scot. Q. fyrst mayd privey to the conspiracie of the sayd rebellion; and by whome; and howe often was there any conference therof with her, or with any of hyr servants or mynysters?

I do not remember that myself or any other sent unto the Q. of S. to make her privey of our doings; or any other conference with any other her servaunts or ministers, then, as before is said, which was to have her opinion what she woolde wish us to do. Her answer againe is specified above.

25. What ayd dyd she promyse to the rebellion; and what was the cause that maked hyr to wyll you to stay the same for a tyme?

No aide was promised; nor I knowe not what moovid her to advise us to staie, then that which might moove all wise men to se into, as the sequele appeared.

26. What was th effect of the conference that your servant Heckyngton, or Hamylyn, or any other of your servants, have, at any tyme, with the Scot. Q. or with Barthyck the Scot, or any other Scotyshe man, touchynge this rebellion; or towching the deliverey of the Scot. Queen?

All suche conferences as any of my servants have had, at any time, ether with the Q. of S. or any other Scotsman, is specified before; so farre as I can call to remembrance. Nether do I remember any Scottsman that practiscd or delt with us touching our rising, or touching the delivery of the Scottish Q. The onley one howre sodainley talked uppon by my cosin Dacres, Francis Norton, and myself; and one or two daies travayled there about, as before is said.

Each seperate reply is signed by the Earl of Northumberland; and the document is further attested, by the signatures of the Earl of Hunsdon, and Sir Valentine Brown (Treasurer of Berwick.)

The original document is in the State Paper Office; and an imperfect copy of a portion of the answers, is in the British Museum.—*Cotton MS. Calig. C. I.* 389.

On the 12th June, Lord Hunsdon writes to Lord Burghley: —"I receyved your pakket of the 5th, wheryn wer the articles too examyn th Erle of; according to the which, I went to hym, and took Mr. Tresorer with me, and examined him, but of the one halfe of them, as though ther had byn no more; wherunto he seemed to be very fearful to answer. Not but that he was very wyllyng to answer truly to them, but bycause he should make so slender answer to sum of them, as those he answered truly; yett, ye wold hardly beleve hym. So, with many syrcumstancys, he answered them; which having answered, he required me, for as much as hys memory was short, and that he wold not wyllyngly consele any thing unuttered, that I wold

leve them with hym that nyght, and lycense hym to have paper and ynke, which I dyd. So having dun those, I examyned hym yesterday of the rest, which havyng answered, requyred lykewise that he myght anser them with his own hand, as he dyd the other; so as yt wyl be tomorow or I shall returne his anser. Truly, my Lord, he seemes too be very wyllyng too satysfy hyr Majesty yn any thing he can; and yf hys confessyons be trew, the rebellyon was one of the strangyst matters that hath byn hard of; and pryncypally procured by Old Norton and Martyngfelde, and ernestly followde by the two wyves, the Countessys. Goode, my Lord, as sune as ye receve th Erles anser, procure my delyverance of hym, that I may ryd my handes of hym, too any body eles; and yt shal be nedefull that he be safly sent up, for he hathe many frendes by the way."—*Orig. S. P.*

On the 13th, he writes, that "the Earl doth greatly excuse my Lord of Westmerland; and sayeth, playnly, that they could never gett any howld of hym, tyll the last ower, and that by procurement of hys wyfe."

On the same day, he writes also to the Queen:—"I assure your Majestie, I dyd never thynk hym so sympell as now I fynd him; and yf his confessyon be trew, he was gretly procured to ytt by othars; and yett, yn the hole matter, he excusyth Westmerland, more then hymself."—*Orig. S. P.*

Shortly after the receipt of the foregoing replies, a new string of queries were sent by Lord Burghley, bearing date June 24th; to which the Earl was desired to reply. The questions are printed in *Murdin's State Papers, p.* 219.

1. How often did he speke with the Bishop of Ross, at York; and how often afterwards, when he was come to London?

He never spake with the Bishop of Rosse at York, as he affirmeth; but once at London, as he formerlie aunswered, in his owne chamber, at Westminster.

2. What was ther several communications at those tymes?

The communycacon was accordyng to his former answer, and not otherwise, to his remembrance; and therein refers himself to the Bishop.

3. With whom had he conference at Hampton Court, ether Lords or others, after that he was sent for to come upp with

other Erles, to here the report of the Scottish Quenes cause?

Uppon his comyng up, he had no talke with any nobleman or others, but once or twice with the Duke; and not then a dosen wordes.

4. Whom fownd he then addicted to the sayd Scottish Quene?

He found none addicted; but the Earl of Wor [cester] rebuked the mariage of th Erle of Bothell.

5. Whom found he then inclyned to favor the mariadg of the Quene of Scotts with the Duke of Norfolk?

He found none inclined to the mariadg with the Duke; for he had not any talke therof with any bodye, more then is specified in his former answer.

6. Who first made hym prive to that purpoose; and whom did he understand to favor that mariadg; and whom not?

First, Christopher Lassels, brake it, as is uttered in his former aunswer, towching the said article.

7. What wer the meanes intended to prosequute that mariadg, when the Quenes Majestie was knowen to mislyk it?

No other meaning then before is specified in this former aunswer.

8. How many did he know disposed to favor the mariadg of the sayd Quene with Don Jhon of Austria, or any other?

He remembreth not that ever he had any talke of that mariage of Austria; but in his harte hathe wished a stronge matche, for the mantenaunce of religion.

9. Who did first motion the matter of the rebellion to hym?

He hath shewed in his former answer, suche mocons as moved hym to talke with his frindes, yf the matter had come in question for the succession; the same being quieted, he then ever after did what he coulde to breake of the matter, as is at lengthe declared there.

10. How much money did he spend in the quarrell; and what becam of his plate; and who did ayde them with money in that quarrell?

He saieth about 120 li. saving x li. he lefte with his wyfe in Lyddesdale. He laied his plate to Oswald Metcalf, which was but a small parcell, being before the rebellion; his chief plate

his wyfe hydd about Hexham, and he knoweth not what became thereof. His coller, he laied to gage in York, before the rebellion, to one of York, for lx li. as he remembreth, one Thwynge, his man delivered it. He borrowed money of no man.

11. When hard he last of Robert Heckynton; and where is he at this time?

Nothing; but that in letters from Leonard Dacres, he comended his service unto hym in a postcripte, which letters were written by Heckington; and now he remainethe with his wyfe, as he thinkethe, which letters wer of no momente, or effecte.

12. What messadgs brought Thomas Bishopps sone to hym, from the Scottish Quene; and what aunswers was made by hym thereto?

As my Lord of Westmerland was on huntinge with hym, he came to hym, but utterlie forgetteth what he said unto hym; but he is suer it was of no moment, and therefore returned no answer againe.

13. What was the cause they proceded not to the Cite of York, nor to the Scott. Quene, to have taken hir?

He was willing to go to Yorke, but all his companye disagreed; the speche therof was at Mr. Tankerds, at Borowbridge, and from thence they returned back; and for the not enterprising to get the Quene of Scotts, apperethe in his former answers.

14. What intelligence had he with Old Rolston, Sir Thomas Stanley, or Sir Thomas Gerrard?

He knoweth not olde Rollston, nor none of the name; nor never had any conference with Sir Thomas Stanley, or Sir Thomas Garratt.

15. What gentillmen of Yorkshyre dyd he fynd or see, to be most servisable to the Quenes Majestie, ageynst him and his party?

He can speake unto this but generallie; and as it seemed, Sir Oswold Wilsthrop, Sir Valentyne Brown, Knyghts, and Mr. Vaughan, to be most forwarde amongst other gentlemen in that service.

16. What gentillmen did favor hym and his cawse with oppen acts; and who secretly; and by what meanes had he intelligence from the Queenes party?

He hath answered the same, in every jott, as fullie as he can, in his former answer.

17. By what occasion did Leonard Dacres, and Francis Norton, brek of ther purpoose, to have taken the Scottish Quene from the Erle of Shresbury?

None otherwise then is menconed in his former answer; and that Leo. Dacres and Fran. Norton, taking some enterprise for that purpose, returned, and said, they could do nothing therein, affirming he knoweth nothinge: nevertheless, one Francis More, favouring the Scottish Quene, came unto him with divers talkes, and said he did discorage the Quene from mariage with the Duke, too the best he could.

18. What wer the letters and other thyngs that Oswald Wilkinson brought from London, and delyvered to Taylor of Tadcaster, when Wilkynson went to York?

He remembreth that Wilkinson came to him about monney, for his rentes; whereupon he required him to repare to London, to the Ambassador of Spain, to have advise, whether they should enter into armes, or flee the realme: after whose departing I never saw or harde of hym; and, as towching the letters brot from London, ther were certen letters brought to his wyfe, by whom he knoweth not, nor the contents therof, because they were written in Spanishe, nor never (did) rede them.

19. What letters war wrytten by Wilkynson, by Thomas Hussey, and by Taylor; and what wer ther messags; and to whom wer they directed, as well strangers as English; and what there several answers, or reports?

No other, or otherwise, than he hathe alredie declared, to his remembrance.

20. What intelligences had yow of the dispositions of the Erle of Cumberland and the Lord Wharton, to have joyned with you; and by whom had yow such knowlledg; and what was the cause that they did not joyne with yow?

The Erle of Cumberland had a man often tymes in ther campe, uppon a faier lardge whyte geldinge, as it were to se and beholde what wolde become of thes causes; but he never talked with hym, or what his intent was, he knoweth not; and knew hym speciallie, because of the beutie of the geldinge. One Michell Thirkell, a servant of his, beinge of the other man his

acquaintance, informed this examynate, the said Earl of Cumberland was affected towards this cause; and whether the reporte were true, or but for the saving of his gelding, he cannot certenley tell. And of the Lord Wharton, he knoweth nothing; saving that Markenfeld told them, he bare affection to thes causes.

21. By whom were yow made prive of Leonard Dacres repayre to the Court, about the tyme that the rebellion began; and what understood yow of his being at the Court, and at his return?

By no man; nor understoode whether he went, or what was become of him; for that they concluded then to have broken upp, and ended the attempte. And, that after that, he never saw him, the said Leo. Dacre; but, being at Knaresboro, a man of his wyfes, called Peter Kirke, told him, that the sayd Leonard was retorned from the Court, and was lodged that night, within two myle of them; and said he would repaier into his country, and provide to join with them. This Peter Kirk was afterwarde, at ther return into the Bishoprick, sent to Leo. Dacres, to know what he wolde do; and after that, Robert Withrington, of Spofford Parke, was sent to hym, in lyke manner; who answered, he wold take such part as they did.

22. What was the messadg that Davers brought from the Duke of Norfolk; and wher was that messadg reported to yow; and who wer by; and what sayd my Lady, yowr wyff, therto?

For Davers, he never hard any thing of hym; but Havers came in message to my Lord of Westmerland, only as in his former answers is declared; and what answer his wyfe made therto, he remembrethe not.

23. Who were they of the Bishoppryck that cam to yow, after the Erle of Westmorland departed from you at Topclyff, to move you to procede in the enterprise?

Young Tempest came from his father, and John Swinburn, as he remembreth; who offered, notwithstanding the Erle of Westmerlands refusall, to take his part; which he referreth to his former answer.

24. To how many, and to whom, did Taylor, of Tadcaster, carry any letters from you to London, or thereabouts?

He remembrethe none.

25. By whom did you send to the Quene of Scotts to know hir advise, as tochyng your rysyng; what answers had you; and by whom?

He knoweth not at this tyme; but he thinketh it was John Leveston, hir man, who came often to hym; and the answer from hir was, as in his former declaracon is specified.

26. Did she not require you to stey for answer, untill she might gett some ayde of mony for you?

She never required us to staye untyll she mought obteyne any aide of monney; but required us generally not to rise, or to make any stirre.

27. By whom had yow knowledg, that in the somer befor yowr rebellion, ther was a division amongst the counsell for appoyntyng of a successor; and what was the report?

He is not able to name any particular man; but saieth, it was a comon brute, which was, that the succession was hadde in question, before the Quenes Majestie and th ole counsell; and that they were devided therupon.

28. What meanes did the Lady of Westmorland use to provok the Erle, hir husband, to procede?

None that he knoweth, till the last daie, when they thought to have broken [up], and every man to have shifted for himself; at which tyme, she did provoke hym and the rest, with vehement perswacion and cryengs, as he hath formerlie declared.

29. In what sort shuld the matter of religion have been reformed, considering the lawes did prohibit the same?

They never entered so considerately of the matter; but hoped in tyme the same wold have followed.

30. How shuld the Scotts Quene have bene mayntened, at hir liberty, ageynst the Quenes Majesties will?

He can say no further then is said in his former answers; for that the talke thereof, and going about the same, was so soddaine and shorte.

31. Who are the divynes that yow meane had so discoursed the matters, at this tyme, to cause the Erl of Lecester, and the Lord Burley, to discern chese from chalk in relligion?

Harding, Sanders, Stapleton, and others, hath, of layt dayes, wrytten so largelye agaynst th other devynes, here within this realme; not only shewinge how enormouslye they mysconstrew

the word of God, and abuse and falsefye the auncyent wryters, as in D. Sanders vii bouck of the supper of our Lord, may partly appere. Also another bouck sett out by the said D. S. cauled the Rock of the Churche, which tends to th advaunce-ment of the supremysye. To be short, the unytie whych ever hath beyn, throughout Chrystendom, emong those called pa-pysts; the disagrement and great discentyon contynually grow-yng, and that ever hath been emong the protestants; methink was, and is sufficyent, to allewre all godly and humble mynds, from the dangerous sects now sparkled abrode emongs the sayd protestants. Endevoring, myself, in my former answers, not only to mayk shew of all things I was charged withall, without concylyng eny one thing, but also to open my intent and meanyng, touchyng evyry poynt and artycle; emongs which, this judgment and openyon comyng then into my memory, hapened to open that with the rest; and, as it may be in that respect well enough taken, so I humbly crave pardon, if it is uttered with more vehement words then became me.

32. By how many meanes had you hope in the most of the nobilitie, to have assisted you in the cause of relligion, and the appoyntyng of a successor?

Onlie by imaginacon of suche as he knew [of] ther disposicon in religion, and some others that were addicted to the Scottish Quenes title; as the Lord Lomley and the Lord Morley.

33. Wher did Copley dwell, that did reconcile yow; and wher is he now?

The said Coply hath no certen abidinge; but was sometymes in Lankasher, and sometymes elswhere; and wher he is, he knoweth not.

34. Who wer the divynes that did debate the matter, after the Dukes comittyng, whyther yow might rise ageynst the Quenes Majestie, or no; and how did they vary in ther opinions; how many wer prive to that argument?

Copley, and one other, whose name he remembreth not; ther oppinions he hathe declared in his former answer. Ther was privy to the argument, as he remembreth, the Erle of Westmer-land, old Norton, Francis his son, Markynfeld, Sir John Nevell, and John Swinborne, and Mr. Tempest, as I think.

LEONARD DACRE.

Leonard Dacre, was the second son of William Lord Dacre, of Gilsland, brother to Thomas Lord Dacre, and uncle to George Lord Dacre, who was killed in his minority, by the fall of a wooden vaulting horse, at Thetford, 17th May, 1569. He was an active partisan in the rebellion; and he is mentioned in 1566, as writing friendly letters to the Queen of Scotts, who distinguished him as "Dacres with the croked bake." *(Haynes, p. 446.)*

On the death of his nephew, *Cambden* says (p. 136) he "stomacked it much, that so goodly an inheritance descended by law to his nieces."

He made an unsuccessful attempt to convey the Queen of Scotts from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. (p. 192.)

On the breaking out of the rebellion, instead of joining with the confederates, he repaired to court; and the Queen "was contented, upon suit made by him, (notwithstanding she had heard that he had been the summer before secretly conversant with the Earls,) to admit him at Windsor to her presence. When being privately with her, he made offers of his service against the said Earls, being then proclaimed traitors; and most earnestly requested her Majesty therein to commit trust to him, as to a most faithful subject and servant: using many kind speeches, not without assurances by oaths, to provoke her Majesty not only to offer him her favor, but to commit to him charge to repair into the place where he now committed this treason, and there to join with her Warden in service against the rebels."

"By the way" (says *Cambden, p.* 136) "he had correspondence with them, (the rebels,) by messengers that went between him and them; and encouraged them, promising great matters from the embassadors of forrein princes; and, amongst other things, that he would cut off the Lord Scroope, Warden of the West March, and the Bishop of Carlisle. Which when he could not effect, he sent letters of commendation, after the Earls were flying to the Scots; seized upon the Castle of Greystock and other houses belonging to the Dacres; fortified the Castle of Naworth as his own inheritance; and, under color of defending his own, and resisting the rebels, gathered together three thousand of the rank-riders of the borders, and some others which were most devoted to the name of the *Dacres*, which, in that tract, was a name of great reputation."

And Lord Scroop, in a letter to Cecil, says:—"I dare assure you, that by the force of this country he is not to be touched; for that although I may levie a good nombre, yet verie fewe wil be founde to execute their force against a *Dacre*. *(Orig. S. P.* 31*st Jan.)*

It would appear that he had the art to make "the people believe that the Queen's troops wanted to take his land from him."

In the confession of Robert Witherington, taken at Durham, on the 19th Dec. he states, that on the 10th December, at five o'clock, he was sent by his Lord and Master, (the Earl of Northumberland,) Lady and Mistress, with others associate with them, to Naworth, to Leonard Dacres, then called Lord Dacres; desiring him to "come unto them with his power,—they were like to be utterly overthrown;" and all upon trust of his Lordship, and his aid. He desired Witherington to commend him to his Lord and Lady, and to tell them, that on Tuesday next, my Lord Warden, with all his power, would be at Perith, where he intended to meet him, and to see his force; adding "If my company be great enough, I will then set upon him, and overthrow him in [the] feld; and if I thinke myself not hable to medle with his Lordship, I will then retorne to my Lord of Northumberland with my whole power; and this shal be done, God willing, before Thursday night next ensuing." Further, he

said he was in good hope to get Carlisle Castle. On Thursday, the 15th Dec. Lord Northumberland said: "Now, Widdrington, I hear not as yet that Leonard Dacre hath done." On Friday, the 16th, Widdrington again went to Naworthe, and found Leonard Dacres; who said, that he could not assemble his forces without great suspicion.—*Copy, S. P.*

On the 24th Dec. Dacres is commended by the Earl of Sussex, for his honourable service *against* the rebels. (p. 117.)

On the 29th Jan. Robert Dagnan writes to his master, Sir John Forster, who had sent him with a letter to Leonard Dacre, that he only saw his secretary, William Weldon; who said his master "had tentered his liverie in the court, due for the same; and that it was taken accordinglie."—Also, that "he was no warde to the Queens M.; but was of lawfull age, and abell to have the rule of his owen landes; and that you were not fitt officer for hym; for he did not were your graunte that you clayme unto you, made by his brother; for that he was not able to make no grauntes, but during his owen naturall lieffe".....

"I doe assure you, Naworthe is kept by him with great force; and ordenance and gones levied in every corner of the said house; and is getting vittuall, and does prepare for a whole year; and the gates are very straughtlie kept..... He is called in his house, the Lord Dacres."—*Orig. S. P.*

After the flight of the Earls, he wishes to excuse himself to them; and in a letter from Lord Sussex to Cecil, of the 27th January, it is stated, that a servant of Sir John Forster's, who had been sent with a letter from the Countess of Westmoreland to her husband, had met with a servant of Leonard Dacre's, who (taking him to be a servant of the Earl's) told him:—"That his master was verie sorie that the Earles thought ill of him, for that he came not to them; and therefore he had sent him with letters of purgacon first, and after he would shew himselfe openly ther frend."—*Orig. S. P.*

Lord Scroop who, on the 20th January, wrote to Cecil, that he had received the Lord Lieutenant's orders "for the getting of Leo. Dacres into safe custodie," which, he declares, "would be very hard to come to, lying continuaily at Naward;" now endeavoured to induce him to come to Carlisle, on the plea of

holding a consultation on the state of the country; but Dacres was too wary to leave his stronghold on such a pretence, and sends the following answer:—

After my ryght hartye comendatyons unto your L. I have receyved your L. letter, together with my L. Leaftenants letter, derected to your Lo. Symon Musgrave and me; for the executyng of which letter, your L. ys desyrus to have me to be with your L. at Carlell, on Weddensday next. My Lord, I wold, with ryght good wyll, satisfye your L. expectatyon tharin, as my dewtye ys, yf the habelyte of my bodye wold serve me tharto; but assurydly the sorres of my legge, with the extremyte of my jurnaye in my lytter to Browham, browght me into sytche a otragyus agewe, that sens my cumyng thens, I never removyd forthe of my bedde chamber, nather upon mens showlders, nore by any other meanes, as before that travell I myght have donne. Wherefore I must becom ane ernest sewter unto your L. that the sayme, with Symon Musgrave, wold vowtsayff to take parte of ane yll denner with me here, upon Weddensdaye; wher, yf yt be your pleasur, I shall gladly get my sympyll hede to joine with your L. and hym, for the best serves of hyr Majestie, and benefytt of our countre. Or yf your L. thynk yt fytt to send Symond Musgrave hether, with sum other of your cownsell, knowyng your L. pleasor and devysse in the premysses, I shall be glad to joyne with theyme in lyke sort, the best I can; and thus awaytyng of your L. plesor herein, I comytt the same to the Almyghty. From my Castell of Naward, the penult. of Jan. 1569.

Your good and ryght assuryd,
LEONARD DACRE.

I returne unto your L. herwyth, the letter, according to your L. request.—*Copy, S. P.*

His younger brothers, Edward and Francis,* were also actively engaged in the rebellion, particularly the former,

* Lord Scroope writes to Cecil, on the 14th April, 1570, from Carlisle:—

Sir,—Towching Francis Dacre having requested my letter in his behalfe, I have thought good to signifie thus muche unto you, that at the first entrie made to th ouses by his brother Edward, he dyd ymmediately gyve notice therof to Mr. Symon Musgrave, now Sheriff of Cumberland, and in the tyme of the late rebellion of Leonard Dacres; as soone as he heard of the taking of my man, and intercepting of the letters, and dyd perceyve that he enterprised suche attemptes against the Quenes Majestie, he ymmediately lefte him, and cam and offred his service to me, being her highnes officer.—*Orig. S. P.*

who had escorted the Earls to Naworth ; and was at Branxham on the 16th Feb. from whence he writes to his brother Leonard, expressing his sorrow that he cannot come nearer hand to know his pleasure ; but sends a trusty person who can relate all his dealings at Edinbro', and can sufficiently admonish him as to his own safety.

" I have at lenthe conferred with my Lord Hume, whoe hathe assured me, what somever you will have hym doe yt shall be performyd ; and wylled you, therfor, to send your servand, Kenyon, with your pleasure to him."..." For my Lord of Westmerland, he hathe assuryd me, upon his honor, by gyvynge also hys hand unto me, that yf he myghte have the certenty of your hand wrytynge, that youw would maynteyne the antyente catholycke faythe and the Quene of Scottyshe actyon, he would with lyk parts be yours, agenste all persones, tyll deathe ; which I thynke convenyente you send.....Forget nott to send to my Lady of Northumberland, to comforte hyr, to whom you are very moche bound ; for surly yf ther were ever honour and vertu in eny woman, and goodnes, yt remaynyth in hyr.....fayle not to send me one nagge, to delyver to my Lady Humes brother, which wyll stand you in steade, as the bearer can shew. .....Let some lie in wayte aboute Durham, for taking Sr. Rauf Sadler...That in noe cayse you be perswadyd by fayre words of the Queen, your mystresse, to yealde to hyr desyre, tyll I speake with you...That you send my Lord of Northumberlands shyrtes, and hys other stuffe, and my Lord of Westmorelands nagge to hym.

" Lastely, you wyll be of good comforte of yourself, seance you shall not wante men to be your releyef, yf in the meane, God wyll gyve you the good grace to be sure of your selfe ; for I dobt not to brynge you hence iii thowsand men, at the leaste, upon any warnynge."—*S. P.*

On the 15th February, Lord Hunsdon, who was then at Berwick, received the Queen's orders to apprehend Dacres.—*S. P.*

On the 18th he was at Hexham ; and writes to Cecil, that Dacres says " he fears the Scots, and will defend himself."—*S. P.*

On the 19th, Lord Scroop writes to Cecil from Hexham, at

3 o'clock in the morning, that "Dacres has 3000 men, English and Scots; and all this night the beacons burn."

Lord Hunsdon writes, at 4 o'clock, to the same effect.

Lord Scrope's proclamation against Dacres, who had called together divers of the Queen's subjects, &c. is dated at Carlisle, 19th Feb. which states, that doubting what perill, by reason of ignorance, may happen to the people; he directs, that "from hence, upon burning of any beacon, [they] doe make repayre to none, savinge only to the beacon of the Castle of Carlisle." —*Copy, Cotton MS. Calig. C. I.* 379.

Sir Thomas Gargrave writes, on the 20th, to Cecil from York:—"I have this day recevyd letters from my L. Scrope and my L. of Hunsdon; whereby yt appereth, Leonard Dacre hayd fortefyed Naworthe Castle with men and muniscon; and that he is promysyd the ayde of all the fronteres of Scotland, boith of est, mydle, and west."—*Orig. S. P.*

On the 20th, the battle took place, which decided the fortunes of Dacre. It is most graphically delineated by Lord Hunsdon, whose letter to Cecil is dated at 10 o'clock on the same night, from Carlisle.

"Yesternight, being the 19th of this ynstant, I toke my jorney from Hexam towards Naworth, at 9 in the night, and so marched all night; so as by day light I came byfor Naworthe, the becones burning all night; so as I found every hyll full of men, bothe horsemen and footmen, krynge and showtyng, as they had beyn mad. And, understanding sertenly that hys house was full fraught both with ordnance, men, and monycon, I determined to march to Carlyle, and ther too joyn with my L. Scroop; but Dakers force was suche, as he made full account bothe of me and myne, and so sent me woorde, and offerd me skyrmyche yn sundry placys; but I forbad utterly that no man showld skyrmyshe. And at last, when he had folowed me four myle from hys howse, with thes offers, yn a hethe, wher we wer to passe a ryver, hys footmen gave the prowdyst charge upon my shott that ever I saw. Wherapon, having left Sir John Forster, with 500 horse for my back, I gave a charge with the rest of my horsemen upon his footmen; and slew between 3 and 400, and have taken 2 or 300 prysoners, suche as they ar. And Leonard Dacres, beyng with hys horsmen, was the first man

that flew, like a tall gentleman; and, as I thinke, never looked behind him, tyll he was yn Lyddesdale; and yett one of my company had hym by the arm, and yf he had nott been reskewed by serten Skots, (wherof he had many,) he had been taken. Ther was, by ther own report, above 3000 men, wherof above 1000 horse; and I was not, of all sorts, 1500.

I tooke then hys guyddown, with the redd bull, which ys the Lord Dakers badge; which I trust the law of armes wyll allow me too beare."—*Orig. S. P.*

Lord Scroop writes to Cecil, on the same day:—"That Dacres did set upon his (Lord Hunsdon's) company very cruelly, and gave them dyverse great charges and onsetts; which, notwithstanding, yt hath pleased God by the wisdome, pollicy, and manhood of my said Lord and Sir John Forster, to have gyven the said Dacres the overthrow."—*S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, on the 21st, that the chase lasted three miles; that Leonard Dakers was once taken, but was rescued again by "certain Skots;" and, not forgetting the spoils of the day, he adds:—"I hope her Majestie wyll have some consyderation for me, for so ys her promise; and, therefore, yf yt wyll please her Majestie to bestow Leonard Dakers land upon me yn Yorkshire, which was the Strangwyshys, I shall be better able to serve her."—*Orig. S. P.*

On the same day Lord Hunsdon proclaimed Leonard Dacre a traitor.*

* For as much as Leonard Dacres, over and besides his divers and contemptuous and rebellious dealings, heretofore manifest, in levying and putting in armes the Queenes Majesties subjectes against her highness and her royal authority; as before, in this place hath been published unto you, by the Lord Scoope, L. Warden uppon theis West Marches, in her Majesties name, hath yesterday (as yt is not unknowen to you all) actually with all his forces, both of England and Scotland, put some parte of his trayterous intentes and meanings, to his uttermost power; in use against the right hon. the L. of Hunsdon and his forces, in repayring hether in the service of her Majesty. Wherefore, the said L. Hunsdon, L. Governour of Berwick, and L. Warden of the East Marches over against Scotland, in her highnes name, doth pronounce and make manifest to all the Queenes people, that the said Leo. Dacres, and all his adherents and complices, and all other who have beene and adjoyned themselves with him in this actuall treason, are rebells, and manifest traytours; and therefore, doth also, in her Majesties name, streightly chardge and comand all her highnes good, true, and loving subjectes, so to accompte, accepte, take, and use them in secrett, or openly, by any meanes receipt them, or any of them; neither ayd nor relieve them, uppon payne to be partakers of their rebellion, and so to be accompted, and receave death for their reward. Further, the said L. of Hunsdon doth chardge and command all men, which yesterday, or any time since, hath taken any of the said rebells in flying, that every man bring in and present his prisoner, or prisoners, to the said L. of Hunsdon, tomorrowe, by ten of the clock in the morning; and that no man fayle thereof, uppon payne to remayne in ward, till he bring in his prisoner or prisoners. God save the Queen. H. Hunsdon.—*Cotton MS. Calig. C. I.* 383. *Copy.*

Sir John Forster writes to Cecil on the 25th, and his account of the battle, is also worthy of record :—

" Pleaseth it your honor to be advertised : that uppon Soundaie, at nighte, laste, beinge the xxth of this instant of februarye, my Lord Hunsdone, with his companye, went towards Naworthe, where Leonard Dacres was then remayning, with a greate companye, gathered together, by estymacon to the number of thre thowsannd men ; and oure companye not passinge the nomber of fiftene hundred.

And on Mondaie, in the morninge, my Lord Hunsdone sent a man of his owen, and one other unto the said Leonard Dacres, certifienge hym, that he came not to take no landes nor possessions from the said Leonard Dacres, but that he shoulde keepe the possession thereof unto suche tyme yt was tried, by order of the Quenes Majestys lawes ; so that he woulde come forthe, and speake with hym, and shewe hymselfe to be a dutifull subjecte to the prynce. Whereuppon, Leonard Dacre sent answere backe agayne, that if my Lord Hunsdone woulde departe agayne over Petmoss, he woulde talke with hym, or els not." Lord Hunsdon was not satisfied with this answer ; and, " hearenge that Leonard Dacre had furnished the Castle of Naworthe with foure hundred men, and victualls ; and hymselfe, with a greate companye, beinge in the feilde ; seinge the danger thereof, did cause his companye to marche forwardes towardes Carlell, to my Lord Scrope, then to have joyned with hym, and so to have returned back agayne to Naworthe ; not myndinge to have any entermedly with the said Leonard Dacres companye at that tyme. But the said Leonard Dacres companye came on everie hill, shootinge and crienge after hym ; and at the laste drewe themselves together in a verie streighte place, nighe unto the river of Gelte, thinckinge to have stopped my Lord Hunsdons companye towards Carlell, and to have cutt hym and them of by the waie, gevenge a freshe charge on hym and his companye. Whereas my Lord Hunsdon, hymselfe in the for frunt of the feilde, takinge th advantage thereof, gave the charge verie orderlye and valientlie ; and, by the helpe of Almygetie God, gave the overthrowe to Leonard Dacres companye, whoe hymselfe escaped verie straightlie ; which overthrowe so beinge geven, my Lord Hunsdon, with his companye, did marche that nyghte to Carlell,

to my Lord Scroope. Also, there was slayne of Leonard Dacres companye, abowte the nomber of two hundred men,* and better, besides a nomber of prisoners that was taken. And on the morrowe morninge, beinge Tewsdaye, the xxiind of this said instant moneth of February, my Lord Hunsdon sent unto Naworthe, Rockelaye, and other places of the said Leonard Dacres, and caused possession therof to be taken for the Queens Majestie; and so delivered them to my Lord Scroope. And haeth delivered the possession of Kirkeoswalde and Graiestocke, to the Dukes graces officers handes, in the same state as they were, beffore Leonard Dacres took them. Also a greate parte of the rebelles have come and submytted themselves to the Quenes Majesties mercie; and so sent from my Lord Hunsdon to my Lord Sussex, untill the Quenes Majesties pleasure be further knowen; so that I truste the West Borders are nowe at a resonable staie. Thus umbelie takinge my leave of your honor, I refer the same to the tuicon of Almightie God. Frome Hexham, this xxvth of Februarye, 1569."—*Orig. Cot. MS. Calig. C. I.* 384.

The Queen was well contented with the result of this action, and immediately wrote letters of thanks and congratulation, to Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Forster.†

Dacre fled to Scotland, and is said to have sat in a convention, at Leith, with the Scots nobles, in April following.

* "Leonarda de Acris peleo con Milord Hunesdon y hubo en la refriega cuatrocientos hombres muertos de ambas partes. Acris, despues de la accion, se paso a Escocia con trescientos caballos."—*Apuntamientos para la historia del rey Don Felipe Segundo, por don Tomas Gonzalez, p.* 99.

The cause of Dacre was even favoured by the gentler sex; as Holinshead says—"there were among them manie desperat *women*, that gave the adventure of their lives, and fought right stoutlie." Yet Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, 26 February, Newcastle,—"I never hard any man so kryd out upon and so curst, both of men, *women*, and child, as Leonard Dacres ys."—*Orig. S. P.*

Baker says, p. 344,—"though he were crook backt, he behaved himself valiantly."

† Her letter to Lord Hunsdon is very characteristic, and well worthy of preservation. —"We grete you well; and right gladd we ar, that it hath pleased God to assist you in this your late service against that cankred suttill traitor Leonard Dacres, whose force being farr gretar in nombre than yours, we perceave you have overthrown; and how he theruppon was the first that fledd, having, as it semeth, a redyar hart to shew his unloyalle falshood and mallyce, than to abyde the fight. And though the best we cold have desyred was to have had hym taken, yet, we thank God, that he is in this sort overthrowen and forced to flee our realme to his lyke company of rebells, whom we dout not but God of his favorable justyce, will confouund with such ends as ar mete for them.

We will not now by words express how inwardly gladd we ar, that you have had such success, wherby both your corradg in such an inequall match, your faythfulnes towards us, and your wisdom, is seene to the world; this your act, being the very first that ever was executed by fight in feld, in our time, agaynst any rebells. But we meane also in dedes, by just reward, to lett the world see how much we esteme and can considre such a service

He soon afterwards retired to Flanders ; and in a letter from Francis Norton, 18th Sep. 1571, he is stated to have applied to the Duke of Alva for arms, &c.—*S. P.*

In June, 1572, he was at Mechlin. In the same year he writes to the Duchess of Feria, (a Dormer) to urge King Phillip to take more energetic means relative to England, as the refugees are without hope. He was then receiving a pension from King Phillip of 100 florins per month.*

His name does not occur again ; and his death was recorded on a monumental stone, formerly visible in St. Nicholas', Bruxelles ; with the arms usually quartered by the Dacres, whereon he is styled Baron Dacre, of Gilsland, Brough, Barton, &c. ; and that he died on the 12th of August, 1573.—*Theatre sacré de Brabant, Vol. I. p.* 240.

Edward Dacre was attainted. He fled to Flanders ; and was at Namur in Dec. 1574. He died before 1584-5.

Francis Dacre escaped attainder. He appears to have lived in Scotland. He is mentioned in a letter, 27th July, 1599, as then calling himself Lord Daker ; and that he had sent for his son out of the low countries into Scotland, and £150 to pay his debts withall. "If he inherit no more land from his father... ...he will be a pore lord."—*S. P.*

In 1608, he received a protection for one year ; and is then called son and heir of the late Lord Dacres. *(Privy Seal Records.)* His son Randal was buried at Greystocke, in 1634. The register records that he was "the last male heyre of the line ;"

as this is; and so we wold have your self also thank God hartily, as we dout not but you doo, from whom all victoryes doo procede; and comfort yourself with the assurance of our most favorable acceptation. We have also herewith sent our letter of thanks to Sir Jhon Forster; and wold have you, namely, thank our good faythful soldiors of Barwyk, in whose wordy service we do repose no small trust."—*Rough Copy, S. P.*

* The list is curious as marking the relative degree of estimation in which the parties were held.—Los Caballeros Ingleses que residian en dichos Estados con pensiones del rey Felipe, eran los siguientes.

Conde de Westmorland, 200 florines mensuales; Condessa de Nortumberland, 200; Leonardo d'Acre, 100; Egremond Radichffe, (Radcliffe,) 60; Richard Northon, 56; Francisco Northon, 36; Sanson Northon, 20; Christobal Namill, (Neville,) 40; Entembert (Cuthbert) Nemill, 40; Tomas Marchinfid, (Markenfield) 36.—*Gonzalez, p.* 131.

This list of pensioners differs considerably from that printed in *Strype, Vol, I. p.* 374, said to have been written by Sir Francis Inglefield; where, amongst the "persons provided for," appear the Countess of Northumberland, 200 lib.; the Earl of Westmerland, 200; the Lord Dacre, 100; Sir Christopher Nevyll, 60; Sir John Nevyll, 60; Mr. Richard Norton, 56; Mr. Markenfeld, 36; Mr. Tempest, 40; Mr. Bulmer, 30; Mr. Danby, 30; Mr. Francis Norton, 36; Mr. Jenny, 30. And amongst those who were gone "towards Spain, to sue for pensions," Mr. Blackstone is mentioned.

and that he was buried at the charge of Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey.

Of the three nieces of Leonard Dacre, Anne, the elder, married Phillip Earl of Arundell; Elizabeth married Lord William Howard, (who still live in border story as "Bauld Willie, and Bessie with the braid apron"); and Mary died unmarried. The barony of Dacre is in abeyance, between Lords Petre, and Stourton; and the Earl of Carlisle.

THE YORK COMMISSION.

A COMMISSION was appointed to try the principal rebels at York, of whose proceedings very little is known. This court consisted of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Hunsdon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard) the Attorney General), and Sir Thomas Gargrave. Their first communication is addressed to Sir W. Cecil, on the 24th March, 1569 [70.]

SIR,—Since our arrival here, [we have] proceded by inditement against all such of the rebells as we be informed have landed, and be other owte of the realme, or in prison, or have not appeared before us ; and have also, for sondry respects, and specially for that we know not what conveyance be made by the principal offenders of ther lands, cawsed to be indited some other persons that have no lands, and may, by such conveyance, defraude the Queen.

We mean not onely to receive to composition all such persons as shall submitt themselves to our orders, and have not above v li. lande, according to our commission and instruction in that case ; but also to stay execution of such other persons as have no lands, and shall be, for the Quenes benefit, attainted.

Ther be condemned, eleven persons. Four are this day executed, as appointed for the first execution ; and seven respited, under color of a second exequicon, until her Majestys pleasure be farther knowen.

We, with Mr. Deane, Serjeant Wraye, Sir Nicholas Fairfax, and Mr. Thorolde, do receive here the submission of all the offenders of the West Riding. Mr. Solicitor, Sir George Bowes,

Mr. Meers, and Mr. Secretary, be gon to North Allerton, to receive the submission of the offenders in the North Riding; and the last day of this month we will sitt at Duresm, upon the commission of oyer and determiner; at which day, all the offenders in the Bishoprick be warned to be there, to make there submissions.

The principal conspirators be fledd.

(Signed) T. Sussex, H. Hunsdon,
G. Gerard, Tho. Gargrave.

There is a blank in the instruction, to put in the sum which should direct us to compound with those who have not lands, so we know not what the sum should be; nevertheles, we take it to be ment Cs. after which rate we will proceed.

Persons to be appointed for the first exequition. Exequited 24 March, 1569.

Symon Digbye,
John Fulthorp,
Robert Pennyman,
Thomas Bishop.

These persons be stayed for the second exequition.

1. *Henry Johnson,*—

He is very simple, was abused by his wife, who is Nortons daughter, and he hath made a state of his lands to her at the tyme of his marriage; so as by his life the Queen shall have his lands, and by his death his wife shall presently have them, according to the state.

2. *John Markenfeld,*—

Is very young, under twenty, and was attainted onely to bring his title to his brothers lands (if he have any) to the [Queen]; and it was not meant he shold dye, for that he hath no lande, and is within the compass of the commission for compounding.

3. *Astolphe Cleisby,*—

He being appointed for the first exequicon, was stayed at the request of the Lord Hunsdone, for such cawses as his lordship writeth to Mr. Secretary.*

* Asculphe Cleasby, had a very narrow escape. He was drawn to the gallows, at Knavesmire, with the rebells, who were "hanged, headed, and quartered," and afterwards returned to the Castle.—*Howe's Chronicles, p.* 664.

4. *Leonard Metcalf*,—

He was servant to the Earl of Northumberland, whom he followed in this accon; he has made like state to his wife, so as the Queen shall win by his life, and lose by his death.

He hath many children; and, before this affair, was taken for a very honest and quiet man, and is generally lamented.

5. *Robert Lambert*,—

He was at the first taken by the rebells out of his bed by force, in his father in lawes house, to which place he had retired himself with the intent to go to Sir George Bowes, and being kept with the rebells until the tyme of the pardon was past; which sheweth no malice in the beginninge. He hath many children, and is well reported of for his honest behaviour before this offence.

6. *Robert Claxton*,—

He was servant to the Earl of Westmerland, whom he followed in this accon. He hath many children, and hath married a widow, that hath children. He hath ever before this time been of honest behaviour, and is greatly lamented in the country; and as it is credibly informed, his land was assured to his wife at his marriage, so as the Queen shall lose by his deathe.

His life was preserved by Lord Hunsdon, for a very singular reason, viz. that he might be useful in advancing the suit of his son. His letter to Cecil explains the fact without disguise:—

Sir,—The cawse why I have requyred the stay of Askold Clesby, ys specyally, bycawse he ys one that may doo very muche with one of my L. Conyarsys dawghters and ayars, whom I am abowt too gett for my sun Harry; whyche wyll the better be browght too passe by hym, beyng yn grete credytt with all the systers. He ys besyds no notoryus offendar, as ytt ys now well knowne, and was followde more of mallyce then otherwyse. He hathe nott one foote of lande, and, therfor, goode Mr. Secretary, move hyr Majestie for hys pardon; and so havyng wrytten too youe thys mornynge, I comytt ye too God. From Yorke, thys 24 of Marche, 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

On the 2nd of May, Lord Sussex writes to Cecil, from Berwick, that Lord Hundson understanding her Majesty will extend her pardon to Cleasby, desires his "present liberty."—*S. P.* And on the 26th of May following, Lord Hundson writes to Sir W. Ceeil, from Berwick:—"I was a seutar for staying of one Asculph Clesby, lately condemned at York, apon suche consideracyons as then I wrott unto youe of; forasmuche as those consyderacyons ar presently too be putt in executyon, and cannott be dune butt by him: sens ytt hathe plesyd the Q. Matie. too stay hym apon my sewte; these ar ernestly to requyer youe that the sayd Clesby may have hys pardon, or that by your goode meanes sum order may be gyven too the Shryve, for his ynlargement, till hys pardon may be gotten forth."—*Orig. S. P.*

His will his dated 18th Feb. 26 Eliz. then of Mourton, sick of bodie,—he desires burial in the chancel, at Ormesbie, near his mother—to hiswife Mawde, his farm held of the right worshipful Mrs. Katheren Conyers—to James, his eldest son, "one goulde ringe," which was his fathers—leaves his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to the care of "my good Mrs. Katheren Conyers"—gives his son James to the right worshipful Thomas Darcy, Esquire.—wife, executrix, pr. 13 March, 1586.

7. *Rauf Conyers,—*

He was servant to the Earl of Westmerland. He is of good religion, as Mr. Deane affirmeth; and yet followed his master in this accon. He is of honest conversation, and greatly lamented among his neighbours; and, as it is affirmed, ther is some assurance made in his fathers life of his lands, wherby the Quene shold lose by his death.

They be all, as Mr. Deane declareth, utterly oute of hope of life. They desire that they may dye, satisfied that the Quene hath forgiven them, wherin Mr. Deane hath satisfied them; and they forsake all other devises of man, and trust to be saved only by Christs death and passion.

Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Thomas Gargrave.

We have alweis been more inclynable to mercy then to severitie; so do we dout whether at this tyme, an example being passed, as you know, in ye necessary exequition of justice upon a great nomber of ye poorar sort of people, that have all redy wordely suffered deth; it may not seeme an inordynat compassion to have no greater example of justice uppon the rychar, than upon iiij only. We are pleased, that Henry Johnson, for his symplicity, and Jhon Markenfeld, for his youth, and Ascolph Cleasby, at ye request of you, our cousyn of Hunsdon, shall be forborne from execution. And for the other four, Metcalf, Lambert, Claxton, and Conyers, we are in nothing moved to spare them, for any respect of the profit that might come to us by ther life; and yet knowing not of ye manner and circumstance of ther offence, how they have therin exceded in any mallice, we will not expressly command that they all shall suffer deth; but, although we thynk it good that som furder example be showed, we refer the same to your own judgment, ether to cause all the rest of those four to suffer, or some of them, whom you shall understand to have most exceeded in mallice and inordinat action, and therby most unworthy of mercy; and to spare such other of them as you shall understand to have offended in the lessar degrees, untill we may hereafter determine what shal be mete to be doone with them. Last of March, 1570.—*Draft by Cecil, with frequent corrections.—S. P.*

The commissioners did not accept the fearful discretion imposed by the foregoing letter. And on the 5th April, the Earl of Sussex,* Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and Thomas Bromley, write to the Secretary, that as the Queen wants some "further example of the better sorte," they think that Metcalfe, Lambert, Claxton, and Conyers may be executed. The first being of York, the latter of the Bishoprick; and they recommend that they had better be executed at Durham. Finally none of the parties *stayed* were executed.

Names of those that were endyted for the conspiracy of treason, 1 Sep. An. 11 Eliz. at Topclyf, in the County of Yorke.

Thomas, Earle of Northumberland, and Anne, his wife. Charles, Earl of Westmorland. Leonard Dacre, of Harlesy, esq. Richard Norton, of Norton, esq. John Swinburn, of Chopwell, esq. Thomas Markenfield, of Markenfield, esq. Christopher Nevill, of Kyrkeby moreside, esq. John Nevill, of Lyversedge, knight. Francis Norton, Baldersley, esq. Robert Tempest, Holmesyde, esq. William Smith, Nunestainton, esq. George Stafford, Brancepeth, esq. Thomas Hussey, Topclyff, esq. Brian Palmes, Murton, esq. Oswald Wylkinson, City of York, yeoman. Thomas Bishop, senior, Poklington, esq. Marmaduke Blakiston, Blakiston, gent. Cuthbert Nevell, Brancepath, esq. Christopher Danby, Beiston, esq. Michel Tempest, Holmside, esq. John Trollop, Thornley, esq. Ralph Conyers, Layton, esq. Anthony Hebborn, Hardwicke, esq. Sampson Norton, Wath, gent. George Norton, Cleasby, gent. William Norton, Harfurth, gent. Marmaduke Norton, Norton, gent. Christopher Norton, Norton, gent. Cuthbert Wytham, Bretenby, gent. Thomas Exilby, Baldersley, gent. Roger Mennel, Kylvington, gent. Christopher Lockwood, Sowerby, gent. Robert Heigh-

* A proclamation of the Earl of Sussex (22nd March) directs all persons of the West Riding who "humbly desire to make their submission, and to crave the benefitt of hir Majesties gracyouse proclamacon," to repair to the Great Hall, at one o'clock, before himself and the Queen's commissioners. And he also issues a proclamation to all those "that have been offendors in the late rebellion in the north parts, and whiche now be at libertie and owte of prison," who have lands or tenements of five pounds yearly value or under, that they do come to be "humble suters for hir highnes mercy and pardon," and shall then understand her "highnes further pleasure;" and those who have not lands, &c. as above, that they also appear, or they will "loose all such benefite as they are to receive by her Majesties said proclamation."—*Corporation Records York.*

ington, Richmond, yeo. Thomas Norton, Skyrningham, gent. Robert Carr, Forde, gent. Robert Collingwood, Etell, gent.

All these before named are indyted for the rebellion, 17 Nov. An. 11; and these that folow be also indyted for the rebellion only:—

Thomas Jenny, alias Jennynge, City of York, gent. Egremont Ratcliffe, City of York, gent. Robert Carlton, of Thirske, gent. William Mallome, of Eslake, gent. John Cowper, of Keswycke, taylor. Cuthbert Redman, of Usburne, gent. John Saltmarshe, of Reydness, gent. John Lyndsey, of Deanes Grange, gent. Thomas Taylor, of Tadcaster, yeo. William Medcalf, Bereparke, yeo. George Hussey, Stickbridgefeld, gent. John Walworth, Raventofte, gent. Francis Fulthorp, Thirkeleby, gent. John Gower, of Richmonde, gent. Tristram Fenwick, Brynkburn, gent. Anthony Welbury, Bransbeth, gent. John Carnaby, Langley.

These are indyted of conspiracy, 7th Oct.; and also for the rebellion.

Henry Johnson, Walton hedd, esq. Symon Dygby, Bedell, esq. John Fulthorp, Islebeck, esq. Leonard Metcalfe, Berepark, esq. John Markenfeld, Merkenfeld, gent. Robert Pennyman, Stockesley, gent. Asculphe Cleasby, Ayton, gent. Robert Lambert, Owton, gent. Robert Claxton, Old Park, gent. Ralph Conyers, Cottam, gent. Thomas Bishop, jun. Pocklington, gent.

Of which last number these have judgment to die. Theise are executed: Simon Digby, John Fulthorp, Robert Pennyman, Thomas Bishop.

Divers others that are indited in the Co. York, be also indited at Durham, for the conspiracy and rebellion in the Co. Durham; and also these persons herafter named, which were not indyted in Co. York, be now indyted with the said Earles and others in the County of Durham, viz.:—

Thomas, Earl of Northumberland. Charles, Earl of Westmerland. Leonard Dacre, esq. Richard Norton, esq. Edward Dacre, Morton, esq. William Holmes, Durham, clerk. Thomas Watson, Raby, yeo. Henry Rydly, Raby, gent. Robert Browne, Nysham, gent. George Pringle, Farneacres, gent. John Welbery, Branspeth, gent. (son of Simon.) Thomas Hall,

Durham, draper. George Horsley, Aclyngton Park, gent. Edward Hall, Durham, draper. William Weldon, Weldon, gent. Robert Carr, Wylton, gent. Robert Collingwood, Alberweeke. Thomas Eryngton, Welweke grange. Ralph Swynow, Durham. James Swynhow, Thornhill. Ralph Cooper, Huton, yeo. Ralph Shawe, Cladon. Peter Kirke, Eglesclyf. Robert Venyce, Melferthe, clerk. Cuthbert Armarer, Belfurth, gent. Cuthbert Fenwick, Southe Sheles, gent. John Peerson, Durham, clerk. John Brown, Durham, clerk. Thomas Mathew, Durham, clerk. William Smith, Durham, clerk. Richard Harteburn, Langnewton, clerk. William Mellerby, Kyrk-merynton, clerk. John Rydley, Brancepeth, yeo.

The names of all those then indyted at Carlisle, with the sayd Erls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and dyvers other before indyted, touching the rebellion in the said County, (Cumb.) 21 Dec. anno xii :—

Edward Dacre, esq. Richard Vause, Branspeth, gent. Thomas Batys, Morpeth, gent. Thomas Vause, Canthwayte, Co. Cumberland, gent.

The names of all those indyted at Carlisle,* with Leonard Dacre, for the rebellion of Geltmore, the 20th Feb. :—

Leonard Dacre, Naworthe, esq. Richard Dacre, Ayketon, gent. William Dacre, St, Bees, gent. Alexander Hodge, Burghe, yeo. Thomas Moyses, Stapleton, clerk. John Foster, Craykenthorp, yeo. Andrew Foster, Craykenthorp, yeo. Jacob Taylor, Harphill, yeo. Matthew Taylor, Harphill, yeo. Simon Taylor, Pedderhill, yeo. Richard Taylor, Pedderhill, yeo. Richard Taylor, Sowport, yeo. Martin Taylor, Sowport, yeo. Bartholomew Taylor, Sowport, yeo. John Taylor, alias "John of Englande," Pedderhill, yeo. David Grame, Eske, yeo. William Grame, Scalebye, yeo. Edward Armstrong, Wylyavie, yeo. Robert Leigh, Naworth, gent. Mungo Musgrave, Alanbye, gent. Anthony Armstrong, sen. Wylyavie, yeo. Thomas

* Other parties are mentioned by Lord Scrope, in a letter to Cecil of the 16th March: —"I mean, on Saturday, to proceed to the publication of her Majesties pardon; wherein I mean to except such persons, as, according to her Majesties pleasure, by her letters, I shall think unworthie of her mercy. And, althoughe a great nomber of the chiefest offenders be fugityve, yet have I here in warde, thre principalles; who, by my L. of Hunsdons opinyon, likewise are thought fyt to receyve due punishment for their offences, One of them named Ric. Pattenson, a marchaunte of this citie; one Thomas Moyser, a priest; and one Alex. Hodshon, of Burghe."—*Orig. S. P.*

Hetherington, West lynton, yeo. Thomas Hetherington, Scutterbye. William Hetherington, Scutterbye. Thomas Farlaham, Askerton, yeo. Nicholas Farlaham, Askerton, yeo. Christopher Elwoode, Denton, yeo. Robert Mylburne, Farlaham, yeo. —*From lists apparently original.—S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon to Sir W. Cecil, 2nd April, 1570.

..... I wrott so latly untoo you, as I have nothing worthe the wrytyng; but that this day havyng sent one to my L. Heume, abowt sum border matters, and partly for sum uthar intellygence, among uthar thyngs he towld the messenger that he wold ney a Daker, for a Daker kept hys father and mother thre yeres, or els he had nott byn Hord Heume; and, therefore, yf he wold see a Daker want, the world wold speke shame of hym.

I have had fayre promessys, and doo nott mystrust the perfurmante; yett ytt wold be a more hope unto me, yf, in the meane tyme, I myght ynjoy that benyfytt othars do, whych ys, too have the kepyng and possessyon of Lenard Dakers howse and lands, tyll her Majesties plesure wer farther knowne; as Nede Carey hathe of Sir Jhon Nevells land; Harry Knolles of Swynburns; Harry Knevett of Edward Dacres; Wyllm Knolles of Lamberds; a man of my Lord of Warwyks the kepyng of Topplyfe parks, one of them seven myle about; and dyvars uthars. Yf I myght be yn that possybylyte, yt wer sum cawse of hope.

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vi Ap. 1570. The partyes arrayned at Westminster:—Thomas Norton, Wyllm Norton, Xpofer Norton, Marm. Norton, Thomas Byshop.

Thes fyve, uppon theyre arreignments, have confessed the treasons they be charged (with.)

Thomas Hussy, Oswald Wylkinson, Thomas Battes. Thes iij, upon their arreignment, have pledyd not gyltie; and have put theymselffs to the tryall of the Cuntree. *(Mem. by Cecil, S. P.)*

INROADS ON THE SCOTTISH BORDERS.

The Queen determined to pnnish all those on the Scottish borders who had afforded relief or aid to the English rebels; and, under colour of retaliation for some excesses committed by the Scots, whilst the true motive would appear to be "to awe the few remaining friends of Mary," she directed the wardens, under the command of the Earl of Sussex, to make an inroad, which is marked with fierce and undiscriminating harshness and cruelty; but the best account of the details of this wanton invasion, will appear by the letters of the several commanders.

Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, 7th April, 1570, *Berwick.*

My L. Lieut. meeneyth too be heere thys next weke, with a very slender force; consyderyng, that whensoever he shall ynvade Skottland, he must leve the borders suffycyently garded, or els we shall receive more harme than wee shall doo: whyche, yf ytt had byn wel consyderyd, he was nott too have cume downe with so slender a company. And seurly her Majestie wyll fynd, that ytt wyll force hyr too a farther chardg. But I trust hyr Majeste shall perceve, that ther shal be as muche dune as may be, eyther by pollycy or with such a company..... I protest I speke nott of affection too th Erle of Sussex; but yn respecte of hyr Majesties servys, whyche ys my only sheet anker. And for John Vahan,* lett hyr Majestie make of hym whatt she can; she shall fynd hym but an ox, neyther able to serve hyr abrode nor att home, yn war nor yn peace, but only in woords;

* Vide p. 164.

envyyng every man that ys yn awtorryte above hymselfe. My letter may seme malycyus, but I protest, byfor God, I (am) clere voayde of ytt; but apon serten knolege of hys dooyngs, beyng very sorry for the same. Yett I wold not have hyr Majestie abusyd yn any suche as he ys; and, but for offendyng of hyr Majestie, I wold wryght no les to hyrself.—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl of Sussex and Lord Hunsdon to the Queen, 23rd April, 1570.

It maye please your moste excellente Majestie. Apon our meting with the L. Scrope and Sir John Forster, at Newcastle, we conferred all together in what sorte we mighte best imploye your Majesties forces in these parts, for the prosequuting of your rebells, fledd into Scotland, and for revenge of such injuries as were by them and ther fautors in Scotland don by hostile incursions in England. And therapon, having appointed two hundreth horsemen, and five hundred fotemen, to the West Marches; two hundreth horsemen and eight hundred fotemen, to the Middle Marches; and the rest to th East Marches: we resolved, that the whoole forces of all your guarrisons and borders in th Easte Marches sholde mete at Warke; the forces of the Middle Marches sholde mete at Eppergate heade, the xviith of this present, and so enter Scotland in such places, and in such sorte, as sholde be in the meane tyme appointed. And that the L. Scrope sholde, also, the same daye, or the next, if he were that day letted other occasions, enter also into the parts of Scotland opposite to his chardge. So as the forces of your whole borders mighte enter at one tyme; and therby not onely take the present revenge the better, but also kepe the Scotts occupied in all places, and therby avoide the assembly of the whole at one tyme and place.

At our coming to Barwik, we found no cawse to alter the former resolucons; and so wrate to the L. Scrope and Sir John Forster, to procede according to the resolucons at Newcastell. So as the xviith daye, at nighte, we entered into Scotland at Warke, and so burnte in Tivedale, untill we came to Craling; and Sir John Forster entered at Eppergate, and burnte that wayes, untill he came to Craling; where we mett, and so went on together, and burnt alongest the River of Tiviett, untill we came to Jedworth, where we laye that night.

The next morninge we toke the moyetie of th army, and passed the river of Tiviett; and burnte and defaced the castells of the Lords of Fernyhurst, Hunthill, and Bedroll, and all others the partakers with the rebells, and invaders of England; and th other moitye of th army, went and burnte on th other side of Tiviett, and so mett together a litle from Hawick, where we intended to lye that night, and were promised by the bailiffs to have ben well received. But, at our coming thether, we founde the howses of the towne unthetched, the thetch sett a fire in the strets, and the people wholy fledde, savinge the keper of Doulanwracks Castell, who had received the goods of the whole towne; wherby th army was disapointed of lodging, victuells, and horse meate, which was borne, for that night, with patience. And the next morning, becawse themselfs had begone the fire, we made an ende of the rest that they had lefte, saving Doulanwracks Castell, and the goods in it; which, for his sake, we saved: and, at our departing, delivered the keyes to his menne, sawe the gates locked, and lefte it in saulfty, after the departing of th army.

From Hawicke we wente to Bransam, the L. of Buckloughes chefe howse, which we threwe downe with poulder, and burnte all the townes and castells of his frends and kinsmen in those parts; and so retorned by north the river of Tiviett to Jedworth, and burnt all the contrey further of from the river, which we could not come to the daye before. The next daye we devided the army; and the one moitie went to the river of Bowbent, and burnt all on bothe sids of that river; and the other moity went to the river of Caile, and burnt all on bothe sids of that river, and so mett nere to Kellsawe, where I, th Earle of Sussex, laye that night, and I, the L. of Hunsdon, went with th other parte of the army to Warke.

During this tyme, the L. of Cessforde came to us, with diverse of his kinsmen, and required us to forbeare East Tivedale; and promised they wold do, what might be for the satisfieng of the offences. And, for that the L. of Cessford had never bene in person at any evill hacte in this tyme, nor had received any of the rebells, and yet his menne and others of East Tivedale had ben of the greatest offenders in bothe; we offered to him, in the presens of a great nomber of the contray that came

with him, that if he wolde deliver such hostages as we sholde chose, for redres of the injuries past, and continewance of quiet to come, we wolde forbere to do any further hurte in East Tivedale; which he refused, becawse he saide the contrey had don so moch hurte as they were not hable to recompence. And ther apon we burnt all those places that appertayned to any of the offenders; and forbore himselfe, and divers other gentlemen that had not in person committed offence; and promised to satisfie for the offences of ther servants. That nighte the L. Hume came to me, th Earl of Sussex, to Kellsawe, and offered satisfaccon for hurts comitted against the borders: wherapon I required delivery of your Majesties rebells, which he had receyved and ayded, which he refused to doo. And therapon, and for that he was in the felde with Fernihurst, Bucklough, and your rebels, all the while we were in Tivedale; I used the best words I coulde, to declare his offences in receiving and maintaining your rebells against the treaties of both realmes; in aiding of such as had invaded your realme with hostile incursions; and in shewing himselfe in the felde an enemy to your Majeste, when you sought onely revenge against such as had maintened your rebells, spoiled your people, burnt your realme, and don your Majestie all the unjust injuries they coulde. Wherof you had sought redres at the Lords hands in Scotland; and that lacking, you were forced to take your owne redres, wherin it had ben honorable for him to have assisted you; and not to have, by resisting of you, joyned himselfe with a company unfitt for him; and, therfore, seing he made himselfe partake of all ther evills, I wolde deale with him as with the rest: and so he departed.

The next morning, I, th Earle of Sussex, shewlde, with all the force with me, have invironed Hume Castell; and I, the L. of Hunsdon, sholde have come with th ordenance from Warke, which, with other engines, was sente from Barwicke thether, for that purpose. And, for that by some negligence the draught horses were suffered to departe, so as the ordenance could not be drawen thether, we were forced to returne hether: and a message was sent to the L. Hume, to lett him understand, that although we wer then in the place where we might do with him as we had don with the rest, yet, for that he was a mane of

nobility, whom we wolde more gladly drawe to knowe and amend his faulte by curtesie then by force, we did forbeare to do him any hurte at that tyme, and wished that the same might worke as good effect in him as it had intencon in us. Which message we sent to him by Archibalde Douglas, who, a little before, was come to me, th Earle of Sussex, from the L. Morton; and retorned that waye, who will make reporte of this curteowse dealing to the nobility of Scotlande.

We have trobled your Majestie over large in the particular discowrse of our doings; and, therfore, we ende with this generality, that we thinke ther be very fewe persons in Tivedale that have received your rebells, or invaded Englande, which at this hower have ether Castell standinge for themselfs, or howse for any of ther people. And, therwith, no one person hurte that hath not deserved; so as your reveng is honorable against the ill, and the good have no cawse of offense.

What we shall intende to do further, we will advertise in our nexte letters; and what the L. Scrope hathe don, your Majestie shall perceive by the copie of his letters here with sent.* And so we praye to God to sende your Majeste a longe and prosperowse raigne, and all your enemyes to feare youe as moche as the Scottish borderers feare you at this present. From Barwick, the xxiijth of Aprill, 1570.

Your Majesties most humbell and faythfull subjects and servants,

T. Sussex, H. Hunsdon.

To the Quenes moste excellente Majestie.—*Orig. S. P.*

Lord Hunsdon to Sir W. Cecil, 23rd April.

I have receyved your letter of the 19th thys mornyng, for the whyche I gyve ye most harty thanks; and, accordyng to your desyer, (thanks be to God) my Lord Liewtenant hathe made the honorablest jorney that ever was made yntoo Scotland, with so few men, with so safe a returne. And, thohe ye shall understand the partycularytys of the jorney at more length by himself; yett I wyll make ye a brefe rehersall of our progres.

Apon Munday last, beyng the 17 of thys ynstant, we went owt of thys towne by 6 a cloke at nyght, and rode to Warke,

* Lord Scrope's letter is printed in *Cabala, p.* 164; dated from Carlisle, 21st April.

wher we remayned tyll three or four yn the mornyng ; and then sett forward the hole army that was with us att that present, ynto Tyvydale, bernyng on bothe hands at the lest two myle ; levyng neythar castell, towne, nor tower unburnt, tyll we came too Jedworth. Meny of the townes beyng Bukklews, and a proper tower of hys, called the Mose Howse, wythe three or four caves, wheryn the cuntrey had put such stufe as they had ; and was very valyantly kept by serten of the cuntrey for two or three owars, but at last taken. We had that day only three small sykrmyshes ; yett yn them was bothe prysionars taken, and men hurt on bothe syds. The L. Heume and Lenard Dakers were both yn the felde, but durst nott cum neare.

The next day we marchyd too Hawyke ; wher, by the way, we began with Farnhurst and Hunthylle, whose howsys we burnt, and all the howsys abowt them. We could nott blow up Farnhurst, but have so torne ytt with laborars, as ytt wer as goode ley flatt. We burnt also Bedrowle, which was the fyrst howse that Leonard Dacres tooke for hys succor, when he fled owt of Ingland ; and so burnyng of eche hand of us, three or four myles, wee came too Hawyke. I showld have wrytten how, apon Tewsday, Sir John Forster, with his wardenry, and such forcys as my L. Lieut. putt too hym ; entered att the hed of Kokett, and burnt doune along Oxnam water of eche hand of hym, and so mett at Gedworth, wher we wer promest too be resevyd att Hawyke. Er we came there, the ynhabytants of the towne unthatcht all theyr howsys, and sett the thatche a fyer, so as att our cumyng ther was suche a smoke, as we wer skant able to enter the towne ; but, cawsyng the same too be quenchyd with water, and helpt with mens hands, we yncampt theare al nyght, with suche vyttels as we browght with us. Apon Thursday, as they had burnt theyr thatche, we burnt the hole towne, savynge one howse of Dumlaneryks. We left the hole force of our footmen besyd Hawyke. Sir J. Forster went with hys horsmen too burne the townes and vyllages adjoynynge ; and my L. Lieut. and I, with serten bands of horsmen only, went to Branksan, Bukklews pryncypale howse, which we fownd burnt too our hand by hymselfe, as cruelly as our selves cowld have burnt ytt. But my L. Lieut. thynkynge that not suffycyent, fyndyng one lyttell vawte yn ytt, wheryn was no fyer ; he cawsyd

powder too be sett, and so blew up the on halfe from the uthar. Yt was a very stronge howse, and well sett; and very plesant gardens and orchards abowt ytt, and well kept; but all destroyd.

Thys beyng dune, my Lo. sent Sir John Forster with all hys horsmen to burne and spoyle on the left hand of us; and he and I returned too the footmen, and so marchyd too Gedworth, wher Sir John Forster mett us agayne.

Apon Fryday, my L. Lieut. tooke the dyrect way too Kelsey; and I, with the bands of Barwyke, and the last supply of footmen, beynge 1000 footmen yn all, and sum horsmen; went along Bowbent and Kele, where I left never a howse nor towne unburnt, savynge suche as wer cum too my Lo. Lieut. with promes too delyver pledgys for too satysfy such harms as they had dun. Sir J. Forster went sum what of my ryght hand, and dyd the lyke. And so we all mett a lyttell from Kelsey, whythar my L. Lieut. went, and lay theare all nyght; and I, wythe my footmen, went to Warke, meanynge the next mornynge to have mett my L. att Hewme with the ordynance; but, by sum neglygence, the horsys that should have drawne them wer returned to Barwyke; and so we wer dryven too alter our purpose for thys tyme, and so returned apon Satterday, late too Barwkye.

Thus hathe her Majestie had as honorable a revenge of the recevars of hyr rebels, and of all suche as have byn commen spoylars of hyr pepoll, and burnars of hyr cuntrey, as ever any of hyr predecessors had.

My L. Skrope also entered yntoo Skotland att the same tyme that we dyd, and went as far as Dunfryse, and returned with honor; the partycularytys wherof I omytt, bycawse hymselfe hathe wrytten unto youe.

Of this predatory and wanton expedition, there is an abridged account in *Cabala, p.* 163, and also in a letter from Sir Robert Constable to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 5th of May, from Berwick, *(Lodge, Vol. II. p.* 42,*)* who rather largely states, that "the nombr of the townes and villages (burnt) was above fyve hundreth;" and Cecil, in his diary, April 17th, says, "the Erle Sussex, L. Hunsdon entred into Tyvedale, 300 villages

burnt, 50 Castells overthrown." On the 28th, Hume Castle was taken by the Lord Lieutenant, of which an account is given in a letter from Sir W. Cecil to Sir H. Norris. *(Cabala, p.* 164.*)* And on the 29th, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Hunsdon send the following letter to the Queen :—

"The bearer, Mr. Raulfe Bowes, servant to my Lord of Leicester, cominge into Yorkshire, aboute his owne affairs, hathe had good will to serve your Majestie in this Jorney, and hath without any intertaynment continued in the feld at his own chardge, and been present at every service. So as he can make particular declaration to your Majestie, of all that passed in the first jorney in Tivedale, and in this last at Hume ; and therefore we forbeare to be over tediose to your Majestie in writinge."—*Orig. S. P.*

"During all those invasions, the marches of England, in all places, were so guarded by the Lord Evers, Sir George Bowes, and other of the Bishopricke ; as the Scots durst not once offer to enter into England, so that not one house was burned, nor one cowe taken out of England."—*Howes Chronicles, p.* 665.

Shortly afterwards, the Earl of Sussex fell sick, and Lord Hunsdon, in a letter to Cecil, of the 9th May, from Berwick, says :—

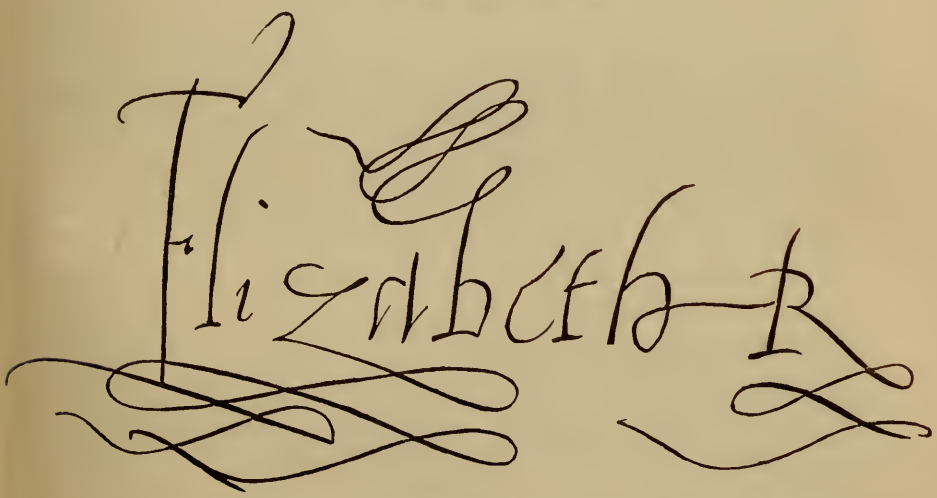
"Hys extreme travell bothe of boddy and mynd, with lyynge opon the cowld grownd and hard rokkes, yn Hewme, and yn Tyvydale, hathe browght hym too an extreme cowld, whyche hathe dreven hym ynto a fevar, whyche hathe contynewed with hym thys ten dayse. I assure youe nott withowt grete perryll, but I thanke God, now goode hope of hys recovery, for yesterday he escapyd hys fytt, and thys day fynds hymselfe muche better then byfore."—*Orig. S. P.*

PRIVY SEALS.

The Queen, like her predecessors, occasionally raised loans, by letters of Privy Seal; and as her expenditure was greatly increased by the rebellion, she had recourse to this method of raising money, until she should receive a grant from parliament.

Her letter for the county of Durham is addressed to Sir George Bowes. These sums the Queen repaid shortly afterwards, according to *Baker*, *p.* 370, "which won her no less love, than if she had given it."

BY THE QUEENE.



Trusty and welbeloved, we greete you well. Wheras we have, upon greate considerations, by the advise of our counsell, determyned to require, by way of loane, for one yere, certyn reasonable somes of money of sundry of our subjects, whom we trust we shall fynd wylling thereunto: for this cause we do

send unto you a nomber of our letters under our pryvy seale, severally directed, as you shall see. Requiring you to cause the same to be, with as convenient spede as you can, sent to the parties; and require them to make you answer according to the contents, the tenor whereof shall appeare unto you by the copy thereof, herewith sent. And, for that it may be, that some of them may be misnamed, or not resident within the shire, or that the partyes, indeede, may be dead: in these, and such lyke cases, we require you to have regard; and for the first we give you authoritie to amende the name in the supscription with addition, according to his qualitie, of a esquir or gentleman. And in the second case, not to forbeare to send it to the party, if he be neere unto you. And if he be farre distant, or lastly dead, then to returne it to our counsel, with knowledge where the partye abydeth, if he lyve; or when he dyed, and who hath his lands and substance, hable to supply our demand. And, for that it may be that there ar som good nombers in that county, well hable to lend us the lyke somes, and at this tyme omytted; we require you, for the advauncement of our service, to advertise our counsell of the names of all suche, with your opinion [what] we may reasonably be required of them. Lastly, for the trust that we have in you, we have appointed you to have the receipt of all the money that shall be lent to us by force of our said letters; that either shal now, presently, or hereafter come to your hands. Requiring you to use all the speede that you may convenyently herein, and to send up the whole money in safty, to our trustty and welbeloved servante, Thomas Heneage, Esquir, thresorer of our chambre, in our Court; whose wryting, testifying the receipt thereof, shall be your sufficient discharge in this behalf. Geven under our signet, at our honor of Hampton Court, the seconde of Aprile, 1570, in the twelfth yere of our reign.—*Original, addressed "To our trusty and welbeloved Sr. George Bowes, Knyght."**

The Privy Council to Sir George Bowes.

After our very harty commendations. Wee have seene your letters of the xvth of this monneth, written unto me, the Secretary,

* The original of this and the following letter are in the possession of F. D. Johnson, Esq. of Aykley Heads, Co. Durham.

whereby wee percyve you have receyved the privie seales lately sent unto you, for the lone, within the Byshoprick. And where it appearth that dyvers of those unto whome the said privie seales was derected ar deade, and some others be not in your opinion, of habilitie to lende, as well by reason of the losses and spoyles they have sustayned in the late rebellion, as for other respects; wee have, insteade of those, caused privie seales to be addressed unto certayne others, by a sedule includyd in your sayd letter, you doo note to be of sufficient hability to lende; which privie seales you shall receyve herewith. And, bycause wee fynde, by your said letter, that sume of the parties that have receyved privie seales, although they have not refused to lend, yet doo they neverthelesse, deffer the payment of the same, untill a longar tyme then in regarde of the Quenes Majesties service can be borne with: we have thought meete to require you to let them playnely understand, that hir Majesties pleasure and commandment is, that either they doo make payment of the money required of them, without protracting of tyme; or ells that they fayle not to repayr hither unto us, to answer unto that which shall be objected unto them [in that] behalf. And the lyke ordre and commandment wee require you also to gyve, in her Majesties name, unto suche as doo, or shall utterlie refuse to lende the money required at theyr hands. And so fare you well, from Hampton Courte, the xxiiijth of April, 1570.

Your loving freends,

F. Bedford, R. Leycester,
F. Knollys, James Croft, W. Cecill.

Addressed, "To our very loving frend, Sr. George Bowes, Knight."

A declaration made the xvith daie of February, in the xiijth yere of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Quene, defendour of the faithe, &c. by Sr. George Bowes, of Stretlam, in the Countie of Durham, knighte, touchinge all suche privie sealles as was directed into the Countie of Durham for the lone, in whiche countie he was made Collector for the same.

Privie seales received the xth Aprill, 1570, of fifty pounds, derectyd into the countie off Durham to theys folowynge, for

the lone of fifty pounds the pece:—Thomas Layton, esquire. John Hedworthe, esquire.* Jerret Salvyn, esquire.† Christofer Chaiter, esquire.‡ Henry Lawson, esquire.§ Raphe Tailbois, esquire.|| Thomas Midleton, esquire.¶ Frauncis Bainbrigge, esquire.**

Privie Sealles received the vth of May, 1570:—William Hilton, esquire.†† Roberte Lampton, esquire.‡‡ George Lawson, esquire.§§ William Lawson, esquire.|||| Anthony Hutton, esquire.¶¶ John Eden, esquire.* Richard Bellassis, gent.†

* Chief of the family of Harraton. His grandson, John, (knighted at Whitehall, in 1603, by King James I.) was of an indolent, careless temper; and was "easily persuaded," for small sums, to "lease or grant away his lands." His son, John, was the author of his own history, entitled the "Oppressed man's outcry," whose son, John, had two daughters and coheirs. Dorothy, the eldest, married Ralph Lambton, of Lambton, Esquire, direct ancestor to the Earl of Durham; and Elizabeth, the younger, married Sir William Williamson, of Monkwearmouth Hall, Baronet, ancestor to the present Sir Hedworth Williamson. In both families the name of Hedworth has been preserved. Ralph Lambton purchased Williamson's share of the estate, 20th Sep. 1714, which remains entire, in the possession of the Earl of Durham.

† Of the ancient family of Croxdale. He had been already imprisoned. (p. 128.)

‡ Of Butterby. Registrar to Bishop Barnes. He married the heiress of Clarvaux, of Croft. He was great-grandfather to Sir William Chaytor, of Croft, Baronet. He was a friend of Sir George Bowes; to whom he sends his nephew to be a soldier, to Berwick, after having spent his substance.

Right worshipfull, my dewtie considered unto your worship, and to my good Ladye, your wyfe. Wishinge you bothe good healthe, and well setteled at home at Stretlam. Thes fewe lynes ar most hertly to require your worship to be good Mr. and freynde unto this bringer, John Chaytor, my nephew. James Parkynson, your lait old servante, was his grandfather. This bringer shuld have ben a merchante; but, by evill hap and company, hathe consumed his stock. He is desyrous to be in hir Majesties service at Barwicke, if your worship could help hym to some place and paye, till God send better fortune. Buterbe, nyghe Duresm, in haist, this xvth of November, 1579.—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. III. p.* 26. *Addressed, "To the Right Worshipfull Sr. George Bowes, Knight, one of hir Majesties honorable counsell in thes Northe partes, geve this."*

He died in the 98th year of his age, and was buried at St. Oswald's, 18th April, 1592; where the register records that he was a Justice of the Peace, "unto whome God send a joyfull resurection." Bishop Mathews (who in twelve years preached five hundred and fifty sermons) preached his funeral sermon, on the 11th May following, from Genesis, xxv. 5.—*Bp. Mathews's Diary.*

§ Of Nesham Abbey.

|| Of Thornton Hall.

¶ Of Barnard Castle; and of Skirwith, County of Cumberland. He married Margaret, sister of Sir George Bowes.

** Of Wheatley Hill.

†† Chief of the family of Hilton, whose origin is lost in the clouds of antiquity. He served under the Earl of Sussex, and was knighted by him at Carlisle, 28th August, 1570. His son, Thomas, married Anne, daughter of Sir George Bowes.

‡‡ Direct ancestor of the Earl of Durham.

§§ Of Little Usworth.

|||| Of Thorp Bulmer. Buried 18th June, 1597, at Hart.

¶¶ Of Hunwick.

* Of the City of Durham; and of Belsis, by marriage with a co-heiress of William Lambton, of Belsis, Esq. Ancestor to the Edens, of Windleston. Buried 21st May, 1588, St. Andrew's, Aukland.

† Of Morton. Buried 13th Jan. 1599, at Houghton-le-Spring.

Symon Welbery gent.* Christofer Addy, gent.† Anthony Midleton, gent.‡ Henry Vrye, esquire. Christofer Coniers, esquire.§

[These] privie sealles, after fifty pounds the pece, amountethe to..... M li.

These are staied by appointment frome the Lords of the Majesties counsell, for that they were spoilled in the last rebellion, and served the Q. Majestie against the rebelles at Bernard Castle, and after, in all the tyme of

* Of Castle Eden. Father of Anthony, who was attainted.

† Coroner of Darlington Ward, temp. Bp. Tunstal; afterwards of Broadwood, which was alienated by his son, Sir Christopher Athey.

‡ Of Kepier. He appoints, 12th Dec. 14th Eliz. his "verye frende, and wel beloved in Christ, William Skott, of the Isle," his attorney, to receive from the Queen the said sum of fifty pounds, "to me dewe, by vertue of her graces pryvye seall."—*Orig. Bowes MS. Vol. III. p. 9.*

§ Chief of the ancient family of Horden, and father to the first baronet, who is styled *gentleman* in the patent; and who is perhaps the only one so called from James I. to Victoria. His descendants lived in the south; and, on the death of Sir Baldwin, the barren title descended to Sir Ralph, a glazier, at Chester-le-Street, great-grandson of the first Baronet. His eldest son, Sir Blakiston, an officer of marines, and who was at the taking of Quebec; obtained the office of collector of the customs at Newcastle, through the interest of the Bowes family. His brother, Sir Nicholas, was a landing waiter at Port Glasgow, whose son, George, succeeded; and the title was extinguished in his uncle, Sir Thomas, who lived at Chester-le-Street on the thankless dole of charity. He died 15th April, 1810.

Privy Seals.—It was the custom for the kings of England when in want of money, to send to noblemen, bishops, religious houses, and the mayors and merchants of commercial places, for a loan on the security of jewels. A messenger from the lenders in any place took up the money they would lend, to the exchequer, and carried back jewels, valued at a higher sum, as security. About 1432, it was complained in council that money could not be borrowed in this manner; people were not inclined to lend on such security, as they met with so many difficulties at the exchequer when they required repayment. In 1442, commissioners were appointed in every county, and supplied with privy seals; which they were to direct to such persons as they thought were able to lend. These letters neither mention the sum, nor the security, but describe the necessity of the King; and end with, "we write unto you, exhorting and praying you to shewe us your kindnesse and good wille." *(Acts of Council, V.* 417.) In 1543, parliament gave to Henry VIII. a tax on real and personal property, graduated according to each person's substance, and the return disclosing the value of their respective property; the next year he sent to each rated at £50 per annum, and above, a privy seal, demanding a loan proportioned to his rate. This he never repaid. His three children often imitated him, but generally promised repayment out of the next grants by parliament.

In May, 1569, the Queen issued privy seals for a loan in London, to be repaid in twelve months; and requiring the money "within tenn dayes after the delivery of this our warrant unto you." (*Haynes p.* 518.) This loan was not paid at the time "the same should have been, if, otherwise, we had not bene constrayned at that tyme, to have defrayed gret somes of our treasure for the payement of the charge growen by reason of the late *rebellion in the North &c.*" Payment is promised before the end of Michaelmas term, (*Murdin, p.* 181) and *Strype* says, the Queen issued a proclamation 24th Nov. 1571, for the repayment of these loans, so punctual was she to "to keep up her credit with her people," James and Charles I. also raised money in the same way; but the privy seals issued by the latter, in 1628, led to the resistance of his authority and the sequel. It was usual after Henry VIII. to mention the sum required, and the demand was considered imperative.

the rebellion:—Raphe Tailboys, esquire; Thomas Midleton, esquire; and Anthony Hutton, esquire, ... CL. li.

Spared by th appointement of letters from the Lords of the Q. Majesties privie counsell:—Frauncis Bainbrigge, gent. and Henrye Urye, esquire, ... C. li.

These hathe not paid, and therefore commaunded to appeare before the Lords of the Q. Majesties privie counsell:—Anthony Middleton, gent.; John Eden, esquire; Symon Welbery, gent.; and George Lawson, esquire, ... CC. li.

Memorandum. Hereof paid to Valentine Browne, esquire, the vith of August, by vertewe of the Quenes Majesties letters, to me directed, ... VC. li.

Remaynynge in my hands reddy to be delyvered,..... L. li.

—*Original Account, Bowes MS. Vol. II. p.* 31.

THE LEVIES ASSEMBLED AT BARNARD CASTLE.

The demaunde for the paie of suche as served the Q. Majestie at Barnarde Castle in the late rebellion, levied as well by vertewe of her Majesties owne letter, as by severall comyssions frome the L. President and Councell in the Northe, to Sr. George Bowes and others directed:—

Entred into wages at the first musters taken at Bernarde Castle, the 15th Nov.:—

Horsemen.—One capten of horsemen, (Sr. George Bowes, Knighte) at 12s. p. diem.; his lieutenante (Robert Bowes), at 6s.; one guydon berer, at 2s.; one trompetter, at 16d.; and for 180 light horsemen, at 16d. p. diem, the pece, for 27 daies, from 15th Nov. to 11th of December inclusive.

Entred into wages at the musters taken at Rookebie Moore, the 19th of Nov.:—50 light horsemen, at 16d. p. diem the pece, for 23 daies, from 19th Nov. to 11th of Dec. inclusive.

Entred into wages at the musters taken at Darneton, the 24th of November :—41 light horsemen, at 16d. p. diem, the pece, for 18 daies, from the 24th Nov. to 11th Dec. inclusive.

Sent from th Erle of Cumbreland and came to Bernard Castle, the 28th of November :—One capten, at 4s. p. diem; 65 archers of horseback, at 16d. p. diem, for 11 daies, from 28 Nov. to 7th Dec.—£516 13s. 10d.

Footemen.—Entred into wages at the musters taken at Barnarde Castle, the 16th of Nov. :—One cap. (Thomas Midleton, Esq.) at 4s. p. diem; one lieutenaunte, at 2s.; one serjeant, at 12d.; one ensigne berer, at 12d.; 105 souldiours, at 8d. the pece, for 26 daies, from 16th Nov. to 11th Dec inclusive. —£101 8s.

One cap. (Rauff Tailboys, esq.) at 8s.; one lieut. at 4s.; one ensigne berer, at 12d.; one serjeante, at 12d.; one drommer, at 12d.; and 66 souldiours, at 8d. for 26 daies, from 16th Nov. to 11th Dec. inclusive. And for 30 souldiours at the like rate, from 16th Nov. to 28th. And for 14 souldiers, at like rate, for 25 daies, from 16th Nov. to 10th Dec. Entred into wages at the musters taken at Darneton, the 26th Nov. And for 76 souldiors, at like rate, for 16 daies, from 26th Nov. to 11th Dec. inclusive. And for 11 souldiors, at like rate, for 15 daies, as before, to 10th Dec. And for 11 souldiers, at like rate for 10 daies, as before to 5th Dec.—£151 1s. 4d.

Entred into wages at the musters taken at Rookebie Moore, the 19th of Nov. :—One cap. (Christofer Rookeby, Esq.) at 4s. p. d.; one drommer, at 12d.; and 76 souldiours, at 8d. the pece, for 23 daies, from 19th Nov. to 11th Dec. inclusive.

Entred into wages at the musters taken at Gillinge Woodd, nighe Richmonde, the 25th Nov. :—101 souldiors, at like rate, for 16 daies, from 25th of Nov. to 10th Dec; and for 9 souldiers, at like rate, for 13 daies, beginning as before, to 7th Dec. —£130 19s. 8d.

Entred into wages at there repaire to Bernarde Castle, from the musters at Chester, the 26th of Nov. :—One captain (Frauncis Bainbrigge, gent.) at 4s. p. d.; one lieut. at 2s.; one serjeante, at 12d.; and 16 souldiours, at 8d. the pece, for 16 daies, from 26th Nov. to 11th Dec. And for 12 souldiours, for 12 daies, as before, to 7th Dec. And for 3 souldiours, for 8

daies, as before, ending 3d Dec. And for 68 souldiours, for 14 daies, as before, to 9th Dec.—£51 9s. 4d.

Total.—£951 12s. 2d.

Endorsed "The Earle of Sussex,* L. Lieutenant in the north parts, hath given warrant for £413 9s. directed to Sir Rauphe Sadler, late treasourer to the Queenes Majesties army in the saide northe partes."—*Copy, Bowes MS. Vol. III. p.* 27.

An imperfeet list exists of the names of the persons levied, entitled "A declaration of the entries of all horsemen and footemen levied by vertewe of the Quenes severall comyssions, as well directed to Sr. George Bowes, Xpofer Wivell, John Sare, Xpofer Rookesbie, Xpofer Wandesforthe, and Willm. Wicliffe, and others appointed by the same, to make levies of men within the liberties of Richmonde and Richmondshire; as also other commissions directed to the said Sr. George Bowes and others, the Justices of Peace within the Countie Palentine of Durham." In the first levy of the 15th Nov. the officers are, Sr. George Bowes, knight, capten; Robert Bowes, esquire, levetenant; Henry Wandisford, guydon; and Thomas Marche, sargion.

And in the list of troopers appear, Xpofer Wandisforthe, John Conyers, esq. Thomas Coniers, Robert Bowes, esq. Roberte Tailboys, William Wicliff, esq. Anthony Cattricke, esq. Marmeduke Vincent, esq. Nicholas Girlington, esq. John Wytham, esq. Xpofer Doddesworthe, &c.

In the increase made on the 19th Nov. appear, Christofer Wivell, esq. John Sare, esq. John Blaykiston, esq. Xpofer Askwithe (who died the xth Dec.) Xpofer Wandisforthe, esq. George Tonge, esq. John Doddesworthe, esq. John Hedworthe, &c.

In the "newe increase made furth by the Earl of Cumberland," the 28th Nov. and "sent furth againe the 7th of Dec." Miles Scaife was captain.

* Sir George Bowes appears to have laboured under great difficulties in procuring pay for the levies; and he writes to the Earl of Sussex, from Richmond, 11th February, "being very importunately called on by the gentlemen and country, that served in Barnard Castle, I especyally pray your L. to save my credytt in that behalfe, that, according to my promys, they may receyve ther pay, whereby I shall be better enabled to serve agayne, with their help and assistance, and shall save that credytt and trust amongst them, that now lieth in question." And he writes in the most urgent terms to Sir R. Sadler at the same time.—*Bowes MS. Vol. II, p.* 60, 61.

Of the footmen who entered into wages on the 16th Nov. Thomas Middleton was captain, James Kay levetenant, Thomas Hodshon (who died the 6th Dec.) and Michael Ramesey were serjaints.

Of the footmen who entered into wages on the 16th Nov. Rauffe Tailbus was captain, Xpofer Hall levetenant, and John Taylbus, ensign bearer, and Robert Pearesey sarjeant.

In this list also is given the names of the soldiers who passed the walls at Barnard Castle on the 5th, 9th, and 10th of December.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XV. p.* 31.

For a further account of the Queen's forces employed on this occasion, see *Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 161.

An account also appears in the *Lansdown MS. No.* 207, *p.* 763, of "the names of the principall officers and captaynes of the army marching northward, when the two Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland rebelled;" amongst which appears Captain Leighton, with 500 footmen.

On the 30th Nov. Sadler writes *(Vol. II. p.* 50*)*, "Captain Layton cometh with 500 harquebusiers;" and Holinshead says, that Captain Leighton had five hundred harquebussiers, Londoners, in the army of the Earl of Warwick. The city records are very scanty on the subject.

On the 28th November, "it was agreed that the Chamberlain shall amend the several gates of this city and portcoloses, and put them in a redynes; and also shall hyre and kepe in wages 2 goners, that shall attend upon the same gonnes, &c." On the 2nd Dec. is an order to give Captain Layton five pounds. On the 15th Dec. a return is ordered of all the able men, to "serve, if nede shall requyre." On the 26th January, appears an order "to move Captain Layton for the redelivery of the cities armor and weapons and harness, that they lately prepared and delivered to the souldiers that the citie sent forthe in the Quenes service, under his conducte and governmente, against the rebells in the north countries of this realme; and to desyre him to *talke* with my Lord Mayor therin, as soon as he conveniently maye."

It appears that the armour had been left at York; and the Chamberlain is desired to get "murryons from the tower," and pay for the same. On the last of February, it is ordered that

the five hundred able men for the Queen's service, which were afterwards spared and stayed for a time, shall now, with all diligence, and without delay, be put in perfect readiness with "all their harness, weapons, and furniture, mete and requisite for the said service, within an hour's warning."—*City Records, London.*

REBELS IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

THE following imperfect account of the numbers who joined the rebels from the several towns and villages in the bishoprick, will afford some evidence how the cause of the Earls was supported in the different parts of the county.—*Bowes MS. Vol. XIII. p.* 55; *Vol. XV. p.* 1; *and Vol. XIV. p.* 13.

EASINGTON WARDE.

	Joined.	*Executed.*		*Joined.*	*Ex.*
Easington	6	2	East Raynton	2	1
Colde Hesleden	3	1	Lumley	8	2
Munck Hesleden	4	1	Skynkley	6	2
Hoton Henrye	5	1	Shotton		
Houghton	4	1	Great Haswell		
Hayton in the hoyle	4	1	Little Haswell		
Newbottle	3	1	Pyttington	3	1
West Eryngton	2	1	Shawdforth		
Overton	2	1	Seham	4	1
West Raynton	6	2	Seaton	4	1

STOCKTON WARDE.

	Joined.	*Executed.*		*Joined.*	*Ex.*
Sedgefield	19	5	Ayslebie	4	1
Fysheburne	7	2	Redmarshall	5	1
Butterwycke			Cowpon	10	2
Foxton	4	1	Wolveston	19	4
Byshoppe Middleham	10	2	Newton and Bewly Grange	10	3
Cornefurthe	7	2	Hart	17	4
Maynsfurthe	4	1	Elwick	5	1
Billingham	22	5			

	Joined.	Executed.
Norton		
Hertborne	6	1
Stockton	9	2
Stillington	5	1
Elton	4	1
Sheritton Towen	2	1
Mordon	1	1
Gretham	1	1
Straynton	1	1
Hurworthe	6	1
Midleton George	3	1
Midleton Rawe	1	1
Byshopton	16	4
Newbygynge	1	1
Thorpe Thewlesse	2	1
Great Staynton	3	1
Little Staynton	8	2

DARLINGTON WARDE.

	Joined.	Executed.
Farye on the Hyll	15	5
Weste Merington	4	1
Myddyll Merington	4	1
Greate Chylton	2	1
Eldon	5	
Hett	4	1
Byers Grene	4	1
Eglyston	16	
Wolsyngham	16	4
Frosterleye	1	1
Bradleye	3	1
Stannoppe in Wardell	5	1
Cockerton	14	3
Blackewell	18	4
Byshoppe Awckeland	21	5
Broughe of Darneton	55	10
Bondgayte, in Darneton	28	6
Bolam	8	2
Murton Tynmowthe	4	1
Kyllerbye	6	1
Denton	2	1
Somerus	6	1
Ingleton	13	3
Staynedroppe	44	7
Rabye	27	5
Shotton	5	1
Foreste of Langleye	19	4
Tuddey	10	2
Whytworthe	3	1
Easte Brandon	9	2
Saynt Elen Awkeland	12	2
Neseham	6	1
Haughton	4	1
Cockefeilde	15	3
Pearsbrige	13	2
Langton	4	1
Headlam	4	1
Newton Cappe	2	1
Gayneforde	10	2
Eskam	3	1
Hamsterleye	4	
Lyndsecke	11	
Elmyden Rawe	9	2
Wyllington	5	1
Morton	2	1
West Awkland	3	1
Evenwodde	4	1
Mydryge	7	2
Brafferton	4	1
Redworthe	5	1
Aykecliffe	21	3
Branspeth	3	

CHESTER WARDE.

	Joined.	Executed.
Chester	3	3
Plawsworth	1	1
Pelton	3	1
Byrtlye	2	1
Whyckham	2	2
Hedlye	2	1

	Joined.	Executed.		Joined.	Ex.
Wallrege	1	1	Fullwell	2	1
Hamstells	1	1	Whitburne	5	2
Medheimslye	1	1	Cledon	4	2
Bromeshele	1	1	Harton	5	2
Benfellsyde	2	1			

The numbers occasionally vary in different lists, none of which appear perfect.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOME OF THE CLERGY AND OTHERS IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

When the City of Durham fell into the possession of the rebells, they immediately restored the "oulde religion;" mass was said in the cathedral; and the antient altars were dug from their hiding places and set up in the churches.

After the rebellion, the clergy, and those who had taken any share in the proceedings, either passively or actively, were called to account for their conduct, and the following very brief abstract of their replies, is taken from a manuscript in the Registrar's Office, Durham.—*Depositions, 1565 to 1573.*

George Cliff,* prebendary, aged 57, says (19th April, 1570) —That he was in the cathedral church in the morning, at such service as was then done, on St. Andrew's day (30th Nov.); and he was there on the Saturday next after (3rd Dec.), at the even song, in his habit, and also on Sunday after. On the 30th Nov. one Robert Peirson, priest, sung mass at the high altar, at which mass he was present, in the quire, and heard him; he did not sing at it, nor look at the elevation, and sat still in his stall; and bowed not, nor knocked, nor kneeled, nor used any

* Succeeded Anth. Salvin in the 12th stall, was the second prebendary appointed by the Catholic bishop, Tunstall, on his restoration, in Queen Mary's time. He escaped at Queen Elizabeth's visitation in 1559, which fell heavily on Salvin and other non-conforming prebendaries. He had successively Billingham, Elwick, and Brancepath, the latter by pr. of Lady Adeline Neville, in 1571. He died in 1595.

open fact, nor reverend gesture. On the 3rd Dec. he was at even song in Latin; on the said Sunday, the pulpit standing by the clock, and he sitting in the gilson stall behind the Lady Bowlton altar, and by reason that the press of people was very great, he heard his voice, but understood not one sentence of that which was said by the preacher. When the people kneeled down to take absolution, he thought that the preacher had been bidding prayers. He received no holy bread nor holy water, nor used no other rite or ceremony; for he was either reading of his testament, or holding talk with one or other. That he was neither willing nor earnest to follow or hear the said service, nor to receive the Popes absolution, whereof he knew not; and as for books or ornaments, he knew not where they had them.

Will. Headlam,* curate of St. Nicholas, aged sixty-five. —He took the oath touching the Queens supremacy; he was in the parish church of St. Nicholas the 10th day of December, being Saturday, and coming into the quire, he found Sir Robert Peirson saying mass, whereat he was not contented, and tarried not, "but went his waies;" he was at no other mass in any other place. One William Holmes willed him to come to his chamber on the place green, and, after much persuasion, he absolved him in Latin, by authority, as he said, from Rome. "To doo the things he dyd he was not willing," but he was persuaded and threatened to do it.

Oliver Ashe, curate of St. Giles, aged forty-one.—Coming to the cathedral church to speak with Mr. Hoomes, about saying of service in the church of St. Giles, who answered him, that for so much as he had been a religious man,† he could not absolve him, and also said that he was excommunicated, and should be for him, until he had further authority; he went to the cathedral when the said Holmes was at the "hynder end" of his sermon; and afterwards, he the said Holmes went to mass, and when the sacring bell rung, he looked towards the priest, but he could not discern the elevation; whereupon he looked up to Mr. Bromley, then in the loft, over the quire door, and smiled at him. He says, he ministered the bread and wine to divers of his parishioners

* Occurs as Rector of St. Nicholas (then a rectory) in 1556.

† Query—*Un Religieux*—A monk, or one who has taken religious vows.

(at Easter) in their mouths, and not in their hands; because they would not take it into their hands.

William Smith,* minor canon, aged 54.—He was at four masses in the cathedral, and remembers that Will. Holmes, John Peirson, and ..... Robson, did sing at three of them, at the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*, bowing and kneeling as others did; and once did minister and serve at the altar, as an assistant to the priest, to serve bread and wine, and answer him at the altar; and helped to sing matins and even song, and went after the cross in procession with *ora pro nobis*. He made holy water once or twice at the South church door. One Sunday morning a woman came to him, and brought him a piece of white bread, to make "halli-bred" of, at whose request he consecrated it. He heard Will. Holmes preach commending the "old estayt," and finding fault with the new; and did there absolve his hearers in Latin, whereof he was one. Having a letter from the said Sir John Peirson, he went to Staindrop the Friday before the rebels went from Durham, to Will. Holmes, who beside the letter of Sir John Pierson, was heartily moved upon their submission, to reconcile them from the schism, every man acknowledging his state of life for eleven years last past, privately and secretly did promise that they would not turn off the same; whereof he is heartily sorry, as he confessed himself openly in the court this day, submitting himself to the correction of his ordinary; that at the time he was content and willing to do the things herein confessed, being a "simple man and easye to be seduced;" as for books or any ornaments, he knoweth not where they are, or from whence they came.

Robert Hutchinson, slater, aged 26.—Helped to set up two altars in the cathedral, at commandment of Mr. Cuthbert Nevell, who sent for Henry Younger and him to the castle, and kept them therein one day, because they refused to deal or meddle with setting up of any altars; that he threatened them still to continue there, and that they at last consented. They got both the altar stones, one on Mr. Swyfts backside and the other was hid in the centry-garth, under much metal.† Various

* Occurs as minor canon in the Treasury books, from 1557-8 (the first book) to 1569-70, but not in 1570-1.

† A provincial term, still applied to broken stones and rubbish

persons helped—rolling and lifting the stones into the church. The priest of Brancepeth was the overseer of all their working, first and last, till the altars were finished, one being the high altar—the other set beside the clock; he helped to lift the holy water fatt (vat) next the great door. Many who assisted were soldiers. His labour was not cheerful, but sore against his will.

John Oliver, labourer, aged sixty.—He worked under Hutchinson and Younger in setting up the two altars: was commanded by Mr. Cuthbert Nevill, upon pain of hanging, to labour with them. Mr. Cuth. Nevill and Sir Rob. Pierson knew him to have been a workman and labourer at Brancepath.

Robert Gylson, surgeon of Gilligate, aged forty-six, saith that altars ought to be destroyed, as monuments of idolatry and superstition, in all places. He and Will. Marley have been church-wardens. On the 10th Sep. *(sic.)* last, Robert Cornforth, the clerk, came to Will. Marley, his fellow, and told him that the clerks of St. Nicholas and St. Oswalds had burnt their church-books; whereupon Marley came to him and told him what the clerks had done, willing him to bring forth theirs, that they might burn them also, or else their houses would be "riped;" and then he (Gylson) brought forth the bible and two "saulters," and Marley went to the curates chamber, and brought out from thence the apology, the book of common prayer, and two homilies—he (Gylson) saved one of them—and so the said books were burnt before his door, by Marley and himself, and forty others, but none of the said forty either praised their doings therein, or found fault therewith. There was water put in the stone, wherewith the folks sprinkled themselves. And they two set up a high altar upon four pillars: and have this day broken the same in many pieces, and their holy water stone also. He was sundry times at mass in the Cathedral; and was at Will. Holmes sermon, and took his absolution under Pope Piuss name, as others did. Saith he would be a favorer of Gods word, and not of the Popes religion.

Henry Younger, of Durham, slater, aged thirty-six.—He was commanded by Mr. Cuth. Nevill, and one Holmes, Mr. Grey, and the priest of Brancepath, to set up five altars; whereof he helped to set up two. But for the holy water *fats*, he set up none, because he had no money for his labour at the said altars;

and he "gat him away" to his mothers, at Egglescliff, and there tarried. What he did was "sore against his will." He was in prison, fast in the castle two days and one night; and sore threatened, or ever he consented.

William Wright, of Elvet, tinker, aged, 40, one of the church-wardens of St. Oswald.—He and Robert Tredcastle directed an altar to be set up in St. Oswalds, and the holy-water stone, at the commandment of Cuthbert Nevill and Will. Holmes: but who made holy-water he cannot depose. He heard mass in the Cathedral on St. Andrews day. He, and others, brought down the books to the bridge, viz.: a bible, the book of common prayer, the apology, the homilies; all which were burnt at the "brig ende." Confesses his fault, and is sorry for the same.

Anthony Cook, slater, aged thirty, says that, with others, he set up the altar stone in Elvet, which was broken in three, and underlaid with a piece of timber. Says the holy water vat was hid in a corner of the church, covered with earth, which he set up. He was once at mass in the Cathedral. Is sorry for his fault, and asketh God mercy therefore.

William Blenkinsop, minor canon, aged sixty-five.—He was at the Cathedral on St. Andrews day. Robert Peirson said mass at the high altar. The Earl of Northumberland coming to Durham the Saturday next after, Will. Holmes preached on the Sunday next after, and he spoke "*expressedly against the stait of religion*" established in England, commending the late service that was abolished, and affirming that he had authority to reconcile men to the church of Rome; and willed all that was disposed to be reconciled to kneel down; wherupon he pronounced a form of absolution in Latin, in the name of Christs bishop, Pius, of Rome. That he kneeled down: that he, with Tho. Mathew, John Brown, Will. Smith, and Richard Banks, "petty canons," at the persuasion of John Pierson; who told them that they could not only enjoy no living, nor do any service, but also should be "spoiled, and perchance have a worse torne," except they were reconciled. They went all together to Staindrop, with a letter of Sir John Pierson, in their behalf, to Will. Holmes, who was then at Staindrop. After they had communed with him, and professed themselves to that state which he called

" Catholicall," and refused the other, called " Sismaticall," he was content to admit them as deacons to minister in the church, but not to celebrate. And coming home from thence, he helped to sing matins, even song, and other service, in the quier, four or five days together, and went in procession twice or thrice, after the cross, within the said cathedral church. Says he was a " faulter," and a favorer, as far as he hath confessed, and is heartily sorry for the same.

*Richard Banckus,** minor canon, æt 63.—He helped to sing three masses in the cathedral; Sr. John Pierson, Will. Holmes, and a tall priest, which he knew not, using such gestures as are commonly used at mass. He was at Holmes sermon, but there was such a multitude of people he could not hear one word. Is sorry for his offences. It was against his will, and for fear of his life.

Roland Blenkinsop,† minor canon, æt. 69.—Was at three masses, and helped to sing at them; and used such gestures as men doeth commonly, that heareth mass. He went not after the procession, nor sung at anthem. He came into the church when Holmes was preaching, with his surplice on. He could not come near, for the press. He went into the quier and sat down in the stall there, and heard nothing. He took holy water, but no holy bread. Is heartily sorry for his conduct; and was forced by the commandment of " my Lord of Northumbreland to come to the church and do all that he did."

William Watson, chaplain to the chapel of the blessed Mary Magdalen, aged sixty.—He went about once amongst the people, at a part of the procession; but neither said or sung at it. Did not hear Holmes sermon, from the press of the people. Was there when the people kneeled down. He took holy water, as others did. Is sorry, " and never intendeth to do the like again, by Gods grace."

John Baxter, rector, So. Bailey, æt. seventy-four.—Heard Holmes sermon; and, when he gave the absolution, he kneeled down among others; and afterwards, by the motion of Sir John Pierson, he came to Holmes in Piersons chamber, where he was

* Occurs as minor canon about 1566 and continues some time after the rebellion.

† Occurs as minor canon from 1557-8; ceases in 1570-1. Buried 2nd October, 1571.—*St. Mary-le-bow.*

reconciled, at last, and that was by the command of Mr. Cuthbert Nevill.

Will. Rawling, of Sherburn, (and others,) set up an altar in Pittington Church, and the holy water stone also; and was at the procession after the cross in the cathedral, and saw the priest at mass there, and thought "they sang out of tewne." The altar, &c. were afterwards taken down, and they were laid "where byfore they had been"—the altar stone, on the church floor, and the holy water vat, in the bell-house, "boith undefaced." Word was brought from Christopher Morland, on such commands as he had from Mr. Cuth. Nevill, upon pain of hanging, to do as he and "his fellowes dyd."

Th. Maynor, of "Wharrell Hill," yeoman, aged 60.—About the feast of our Ladys day last past, Thomas Richmond came to him and required him to lead a fother of stones, to build an altar. One of his neighbours gave him a piece of holy bread, which he now remembers was his own wife, and he eat the same. Was at Holmes sermon, who said, all church service now used was "not good, but herycie,"—that they were not worthy to hear the word of God, unless they were reconciled.

Tho. Richmond, church-warden, St. Margarets, aged 60.—He procured an altar to be made and set up, and took a "through stone" out of the pavement of the church-floor. He was especially commanded to do what he did by Mr. C. Nevill. He for fear obeyed, and not for any love of mass and mattens.

John Nicholson, Long Newton, labourer, aged 60.—Set up an altar, by order of Thomas Colling, church-warden; had nothing for his labour: received holy water, but no holy bread. Cecil Merrington (and others) helped to bear lime; is heartily sorry, and prays God and the Queen to forgive him.

Adam Markham, of Long Newton, labourer—that during the time of the rebellion, at the request and command of Thomas Colling, church-warden, he helped to lift up the altar stone.

The Widow of Thomas Crawe, labourer, aged 75, heard one mass in the church of Long Newton, and bore one "skep full of sand" to the building of the altar: was commanded by Collins daughter, in her fathers name.

Katherin Polson,—was in the church, when priest Hartborne was at mass.

Isabella Mawer,—heard Hartborne preach, who said the auditors "was lowters, and hadd bein damned these eleven years."

Cuthbert Gubion, Sedgefield, labourer, aged 72, helped to build an altar, at the command of Roland Hixson, church-warden, "which altar was thruste downe by the Queens solgiers:" the holy water stone was hid in the dunghill of W. Clarke, by Roland Hixson.

John Newton, husbandman.—Was in Sedgefield church when the workmen were lifting up the altar stone; and they suddenly called on him for help, and he gave them "a lyft." The soldiers afterwards cast it down. He came to mass with one Rich. Hartborn, on the 7th Dec. in the church of Sedgefield, and kneeled and used reverence thereto. He used no beads; but took holy water; he brought water in a "skeill," to be made holy water. Heard Ric. Hartborns sermon; who said, the "doctrine of England was nought;" and that this "realm was cutt off from all other nacons.'" He was at the latter burning of the books, when two psalters, and an old book of his own, (to save the bible, which is yet saved) were burned.

Ric. Fleitham, of Sedgefield.—Passing through the town street, he met with Headlam, who willed him to bid Hixon send up the church books. Heard that Roland Hixson, seeing the flames; said, "lowe where the homilies flees to the devyll."

Rowland Hixson, of Sedgefield, husbandman, aged fifty; says that the parish met together, and consulted to sett in the altar stone and holy water stone; and above thirty people helped to draw, with ropes, the said altar stone from Gilson garth, into the church. As to the books; Rich. Fleitham came to his house in a morning, before day, and commanded him, in the Queens name, and in the Earls, to deliver the church books to him. He brought five books to the crosse in the Town-gate, where they were burnt. When an old book was burning, he said, aloud, see where the bible burns; which words, he said, that the bible should not be called for. He heard Hartborn preach against the Queens religion; telling them, they were all out of the way; *and worse than a horse that hath been in the mire.* He was reconciled, and took Hartborns benediction.

Thomas Colling, of Long Newton, aged sixty, says, that one Captain Welton, and Ric. Hartburn, gave him commandment,

in the Queens name, and the Earls, to build up an altar; and he gave commandment to neighbours round about the town, by his daughter Barbary, to help to build the said altar. Welton and his company rent the books, and made away with them. He has "more love and affection to the Quenes Majesties proceedings, than to the Popes religion."

Robert Cornefurth, of Gilligate, tanner, says, that on the place green, Holmes and Mr. Nevell called him to them, to charge the church-wardens to burn the books.

Alice Newham, of Long Newton, single woman, aged 18.—Was commanded by Barbara Colling to help up with the altar. She carried two skeps full of sand.

John Brymley, gent.* aged sixty-seven.—He was twice at mass, when Robert Peirson,† with Homes, sung the same, within the cathedral; but he sung not himself, but *played at orgaines;* and did, divers times, help to sing psalmes at mattins and even song, and played on the organs; and went in procession, as others did, after the cross. He heard a piece of Holmes sermon: he spoke much in commendation of the pope; he bad the people kneel down to be reconciled—he kneeled also. He received holy water, but no holy bread, "to his wytting." Is sorry for the same. He did it by compulsion.

Will. Syme,‡ of the cathedral, clerk, aged 40.—He remembers three masses sung in the cathedral, heard a piece of Will. Holmes sermon; he commended the pope and his religion, and

* He was Magister Choristarum, from 1557 until 1576, when he died. "John Brymley, singing man of the cathedrall church of Durham, Mr. to Will. Watson, clerke, then of St. Nicholas, buried 14th Oct. 1576."—*St. Nich. Register.* His epitaph still remains in the cathedral.

John Brimleis body here doth ly,
Who praysed God with hand and voice;
By musickes heavenly harmonie
Dull myndes he maid in God rejoice.
His soul into the heavens is lyft,
To prayse Him still that gave the gyft.

† A person of this name held the vicarage of Sockburn at this period—possibly the same; who, having a ticket in the great lottery of 1567, his posy, or device, sufficiently expresses his devotion to the house of Neville.—"God save the bul of Westmerland."—*Kempe's Loosely MSS. p.* 213.

‡ William Syme was a singing man, and appears in the cathedral books, from 1558 to 1571-2. John Clark, from 1558 to 1588-9. And depositions also appear, to a similar effect, from the following singing men:—Thomas Knighton (from 1557 to 1571-2); Miles White, (from 1558 to 1609-10); Thomas Harison (from 1558 to 1580); Thomas Gibson (from 1557 to 1571-2); Richard Bell (from 1557 to 1576-7); and George Cuthbert (from 1564 to 1594-5.) Of the minor canons, Smith, Brown, Pierson, and Matthews, were deprived for conforming

heard him give his blessing in Latin with his hand, all the people kneeling down. He read one lesson, but received neither holy bread nor holy water. He takes God to record, it was against his mind; and he is sorry.

John Clerk, clerk, aged 45.—Attended divers masses: does not know what is become of the holy stone. He was reconciled and absolved; is sorry for the same.

Tho. Hornby, of Witton Gilbert, says, on a Sunday or holiday in December, Sir John Browne said openly to his parishioners, I have these eleven years taught you the wrong way, in such learning as is against my own soul and yours both; and I am sorry, and ask God mercy therefore, and yours, my parishioners; and do here renounce my living before you all; and wheresoever you meet me; in town or field, take me as a stranger, and none of your curate.

Elizab. wife of *Hen. Rutter*, of Durham, says, she was delivered of a woman child in Elvet, the xvth day of November, being the morrow after the rebells left. Her child was born on Tuesday, and lay unchristened till Friday fortnight.

Hen. Rutter, her husband, says the child was born upon a Teusday, the morrow after the Earles rose; he was sent for, to wait on his master, the Earl of Westmorland, on Wednesday, at Darlington. He has heard that Sir Robert Peirson, Curate of Brancepath, christened his child, by commandment of Lady Westmerland.

Tho. Watson, of Billingham, yeoman, aged 50.—Being at Hartlepool amongst the rebells, in one William Thompsons house; he saw Hartborn in bed, and his brother with him, that helped Hartborn to do mass. Says the high altar stone is buried

to papacy (see p. 231); and they cease to receive pay from 1569. John Baxter also ceases to be paid from 1570; and the reason he appears in the Dean and Chapter's books is, that the rector had, before the dissolution of the monastery, the chapel above the college gates, in his parish; but, at the foundation of the Dean and Chapter, he received a pension instead.

Several of the unbenificed clergy in other parts of the County, either vacated or were deprived, in 1570; very probably from their having shown symptoms of favour and affection towards the old religion.

"There was, perhaps, no place," says the late Historian of Durham, Vol. I, p. 69, "where the superstitions of the antient church had shed a deeper gloom, or where the first pale and struggling ray of the reformation broke with more unwelcome lustre," than in the Bishopric; and where the feeling of deep attachment to the ancient faith "lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel were ever so little stirred, came to the top."

in the quire at Billingham, and one red cope is remaining in the church, as yet undefaced.

John Lilborn, of Sheldon, gentleman, aged 31.—He rent the bible in pieces, in the church of St. Andrew, Auckland; and is heartily sorry therefore, and hath bought another bible at his own charge; and further, he took the boards of the communion table, and threw them under foot.

Will. Cook, of Bishop Auckland, tore part of the books with his hands and teeth.

Ric. Chamber, of Windleston, husbandman, heard Sir Edward the priest, say openly in the pulpit, that he had taught them with wrong.

Will. Harding, minor canon, was once at matins, and once at even song; Cuthbert Nevill reviled him, saying, he was of wicked living; and also two soldiers came to his chamber, and commanded him to come to the church, or else it would be worse with him.

Elizabeth, wife of *Will. Watson*, says, that on St. Andrews day she went to the cathedral to *see* mass; but the throng was so great, that she could not. She sat down at the lower end of the church, and said her prayers; she was not shriven.—That when Mr. Swyfts wifes sister wept, she said to her, "the dyvell wepe with thee;" for which words she is heartily sorry.

John Burnop, of St. Helens, Aukland, says, he was at church on the second Sunday in advent, when *gaudete in domino* was usually sung. That one George White came to the church, and said mass; and preached against the state of religion in the realm; and willed them to revert to the church of Rome. He read absolution to the people, amongst whom, was Jane, wife of Mr. Robert Eden. Mrs. Eden was present from beginning to end, sitting in the quire. Before Sir George went to mass, he received Mrs. Eden into the church by the hand, as the custom was, and sprinkled holy water upon her.

Ralph Stevenson, of Durham, currier.—He was at Plomtres masse in the college church, and at Holmes preaching: he took holy water, but no holy bread; nor was shriven. He is now sorry for what he has done against the Queens proceedings.

Several other depositions occur to the same effect, with similar excuses from the parties, all wishing to shew that they acted

more through fear, or by compulsion, than from any love or veneration they entertained for the "oulde religion." However this may be, several of those connected with the cathedral, were dismissed from its service, and the principal movers and actors disappeared; and in all probability left the country. One catholic priest (Plomtree) was hanged, in the market-place at Durham.

ATTAINDERS.

An acte for the confirmation of th' attaynders of Charles, Earle of Westmerlande; Thomas, Earle of Northumberland; and others.—xiii Eliz. c. xvi.

In theyr most humble wyse besechen your most excellent Majestie, the Lordes spyrytuall and temporall, and al other your loving and obedyent subjectes, the Commons of this your most hyghe Court of Parlyament assembled, that where Charles, Earle of Westmerland, late of Branspethe, in the county of Durham.* Thomas, Earle of Northumberlande, late of Topclyfe, in the county of Yorke. Anne, Countesse of Northumberlande, wyef to the said Earle of Northumberlande. Leonard Dacre, late of Harlsey, in the county of Yorke, esquire.† Edward Dacre, late of Morton, in the county of York, esquire.‡ Syr John Nevill, late of Leversedge, county of York, knight.§ John Swinbourne,

* See hereafter, an account of the Earls.

† See page 214.

‡ See page 233. He was at Tournay on the 5th of March, 1583, when he joins the Earl of Westmoreland in a letter to Dr. William Allen, wishing to be employed, for "the honour and glory of God's church;" and complaining of their bad "entertainment."—*Dodd's History of the Church.*

§ See page 41. In a letter from Sir T. Gargrave to Cecil, 13th Feb. 1569-70. sending the examination of Lady Neville, taken by him and Sir Hugh Savile; he writes, surely her husband must be "of a good nature," having been confirmed in "popery and false doctrine," by Dr. Robynson, in Queen Marys days; and in King Edwards days he was a protestant. He says, Lady Nevill is left with ten children, in a very "pore estate," and she thinks that "yf her husband might have his lyfe, he would come in and submytt hymself to imprisonment, or otherwise, as shuld please the Quenes Majestie."—*S. P.*

late of Chopwell, county of Durham, esquire.* Thomas Markenfield, late of Markenfielde, county of Yorke, esquire.† Egremounde Ratcliffe, late of the citye of Yorke, esquire.‡ Christopher Nevyll, late of Kyrby moreside, county of York, esquire.§ Richard Norton, late of Norton Coniers, esquire; Frauncis Norton, late of Baldersbie, county of York, esquire; George Norton, gentleman; Sampson Norton, gentleman; William Norton, gentleman; Christopher Norton, gentleman; Marmaduke Norton, gentleman; Thomas Norton, gentleman.|| Robert Tempest, late of Holmside, county of Durham, esquire; Mychael Tempest, sonne of the said Robert Tempest.¶ Wylliam

* See page 33. He is mentioned as being at Farnehurst in a letter from Lord Hunsdon to the Earl of Sussex, dated 11th January, Berwick.—"Th Earle of Westmerland ys openly receyved and mayteyned at Farnehurst, wher, in owtward shew, he was never meryer; *Swynburn* and two other are with him. Richard Norton and two or three with hym at Branksome, the L. of Bukklewhs; and some of the meaner sorte are with Sr. Andrewe Karre, and some with the Lord of Bedrowle. Egremont Ratcliffe ys in Lyddysdal with the Lords. Apon Thursday night last, the Countess was carryed from Farnehurst towards Hewme, with 100 horse, and the storme being verye greate, was dryven to alight at Roksborro to warme her; so as yt was eight of the clocke on Frydaye or she was at Hewm; wher I had one that spake with her, and sens she ys brought to Fase Castell, wher she remaynes. Although they were moche dismayed (the rebells I meane) at ther fyrst comyng into Lyddysdale, I assure your L. they thinke themselves in better case then when they wer at Durham; for they fynde themselves to have many frends in Scotland, for the greatest part of the nobilitie be holly bent to succor them; so as you shall fynde that the Regent dare not delyver th Earl of Northumberland, nor scant kepe hym as a prisoner. Th Earle Murton ys also bent for the mayntenance of the rebells, as a libertie incident to all nacons, and do accompte yt a grete shame and reproche to all the countrye in doing the contrary; this I know to be trew".—*Copy, S. P.*

† He had been for many years a voluntary exile on account of religion, and returned to England the year before the rebellion, in which he appears to have taken an active part. On the discomfiture of the Earls, he fled to the low countries. His younger brother, John, was unjustly attainted at York (page 226), and narrowly escaped execution. In Henry Symson's interrogataries, 8th October, 1571, it appears that "Markenfield ys said to be gone to Rome;" and "there ys one Dr. Morton, that was said, was coming from the Pope, with letters and money to the English now at Lovayne."—S. P. He was a pensioner of the King of Spain.

A letter from one who calls him cousin, and who signs "you know who," from Tournay, May 19th, 1593, addressed to him in Madrid, states, that he had received his letter from Portugal, written upon "the back of a targett," and he was glad to hear from him, as he had been reported dead. The writer states, that after much vexation for the "catholique faythe, I thanke God I have escaped myne enemyes, to venter my lief in his catholique Majesties service, agaynst heretiques and heresye." He says, "your wif is powre, but prayeth hard for you." "I fear she is in great lack of worldly comforts."—*Harl. MS. 286, p. 205.* He is mentioned in the *Estate of English Fugitives*, as one of "those that are only, for want of things necessarie, and of pure povertie, consumed and dead."

His wife, Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ingleby, was allowed a small pension out of his estates for life; and his *innocent* brother, John, was pardoned in February, 1574, at the suit of the Earl of Leicester.

‡ See page 71.

§ See page 36.

|| See hereafter, "The Nortons."

¶ See page 33.

Smith, late of Nunstanton, county of Durham, esquire.* Bryan Palmes, late of Morton, county of Durham, esquire.† George Stafford, esquire.‡ Thomas Bishop, the elder, late of Pucklinton, county of York, gentleman.§ Marmaduke Blakestone,

* Of Nunstainton. "A note of his lands:—Nunstainton, some parcel of the possessions of Monketon, Co. York, was purchased by his father, George Smith, in the time of King Henry VIII. after the yerly value of £13 6s. 8d. His lands in Walworth were purchased by himself of Mr. Askew, after the yerely value of £10. His lands in Wodham House, being one-fourth, purchased of the said Mr. Askew, yerly value £7 6s. 8. Total, £30 13s. 4d. In the right of his wife being one of the daughters and heirs of Mr. Eshe, deceased, the manor of Eshe, yerely value £49."—S.P. In Sept. 1572, he had a pardon, with restitution of goods, at the suit of Sir William Drury, Knight (p. 48); and immediately follows a grant of a lease for twenty-one years, of messuages and lands in Harrington and Offerton, and of the manor of Eshe, parcel of the lands of William Smith, attainted, to Thomas Clarke, for £48 15s. fine, with increase of 54s. 3d. rent, per annum.—*Privy Seal Records.*

In 1573, the Queen gives some of his lands to Sir William Drury. (See page 48.) And in May, 1576, her Majesty gives up certain claims she has to a yearly rent of £20 6s. 8d. to William Smith and his wife, Margaret.—*Privy Seal Records.* It was not until the following reign, in May, 1609, that a grant or restitution was made to George, eldest son of William Smith, and his heirs, of the fee simple of Nunstainton, late possession of William Smith, attainted, for £200, paid to his Majesty.—*Privy Seal Records.* William Smith was living at Eshe in 1614. He was the direct ancestor of the present Sir Edward Joseph Smith, Bart. of Acton-Burnell.

‡ A Yorkshire gentleman, who had a small life interest in Murton, in right of his wife. He held a tenement in Murton, parcel of the possessions of Marmaduke Surtees, Gent. for years, at £6 13s. 4. which was seized by Mr. Will. Knolles.—*S. P.* He appears to have fallen into the hands of one, who wished to part with him, on a *consideration.*

"The names of certayne Englyshe that fled into Scotland, and wer ther apprehended by the L. Lindsaye, and yet remayne in his custodye, of whom he desyrethe to be delivered, with consyderation, of the charge that he hathe byne at for the keapinge of them; Swynborne, *Palmes*, Smythe, the yonger. This Lords desire to me was, that [on] their acknowleging ther offences, and fyning for their lives, might be pardoned, and have libertye to injoy the countre; and he to be allowed for their charge that he hath beyne at, either by them as they can agree, or by her Majestie at her owne pleasure. April, 1571."—*S. P.*

‡ He is mentioned in a letter from Lord Scrope of the 11th January, 1569-70:—The Earl of Westmerland, on Saturday last, came from the L. Hume to the Larde of Farnyhurst, where he yet remayneth. Markenfield and Swinburn are still receipted with the Lord Hume; Egremont Ratcliffe and Edward Dacre with the Lard of Buckleugh; and Richard Norton and his sons, Francis and Sampson, with the Sheriff of Tevidale, which is so much as I yet know.

P. S. I heare that Buckleugh is rydden to the Earl of Murton; and that *George Staffurthe* is secretly receipt in this Marche, for whose apprehension I will doe the best that in me shall lye.—*Copy*, S. P.

§ Lord Sussex writes to Cecil, from Durham, 12th January:—"Sir, understanding that one calling himself Thomas Holmes, the elder, and another calling hymself Thomas Holmes, the yonger, and alleging themselves to be of Londone, and taken by th Earles and deteyned by them, were taken In the west contrie and sent hither; and finding, apon the serche of the booke, that Thomas Holmes, the elder, was not in dede delivered, I cawsed Thomas Holmes, the yonger, to be examined, who, in th end, declared his name to be Byshop, son to Byshop, the Scott; and that Thomas Holmes, th elder, was his father. Herupon I wrote to my Lord Scrope to send olde Bishop hither in suertie, to be examined of special and waightie causes. In the meane tyme, Bishop beinge in some perill, by a hurt apon his hed, declared his awne name to Mr. Duddley, where he now is; who toke his examinacon, and sent it to me, declaring his taking by th Erles against his will, and other frivolouse matters: wherapon I wrate eftsones to my L. Scrope to have good respect to him, and to send him in saftie hither; and received answer, that his hurte was suche as he could not be carried wIthout present perill of life. Apon which occason,

gent.* Cuthbert Nevyll, esq.† Christopher Danby, late of Beiston,

the Bishop of Carlisle, repairing hither, went that waye and toke his examinacon, the coppie wherof I send unto you enclosed. And, for that it semeth he can utter much which, perhaps, wold not be so easilie discovered if he were ded; and that the Bishop affirmeth he is like to die for lack of a sufficient surgion, I have sent a surgion from hens to do what maye be to save his life; and, apon the fathers confession, I will presently examine the son, to se what may be gotten of him herin.

P. S. I wryte nothing of Robert Constables advertisments, for that Mr. Saddeler wryteth of them."—S. P.

[In the list of prisoners at Durham (p. 129), appear the names of Thomas Holmes, of Hoxden, and Thomas Holmes, his sonne, being taken at Todcaster, and carreyed as prisoners, all theyr jorney, with th Earl of Northumberland.]

The letter of the surgeon is also preserved.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—My dewtye remembryd unto your honor at this tyme, is to let you understand that Mr. Byshopp is sore woundyd upon the heade with a byll, and hath greate impostumatione because of the fraction of the scull; and ys in a greate consumptione there withall. My Lorde, he hathe a sonne that grevythe him sore, and ys ever in his mynde, which ys in Durham, at your Lordships pleasure, whose name is Thomas Byshoppe; may yt, therfore, please yor honor to gyve me the lyfe of the sayd Thomas Byshopp. I truste I showld sonner (by the grace of God) restouer the hylth of his father, because he ys ever in his mynde; and, as his father sayth he never did weare any armure, nor never came in battle raye with the rebels, but attendinge upon his father. Mr. Dudley mayd sute to the Lord Scroope, Lord Warden, immediately after his comynge from your Lordshipp. to send one Carter, a surgion, and the Quenes servant, a gunner in Carlysley, wherby he myght reporte the truth unto the Lord Warden; to sygnifye unto your honor who delt with him before my comynge, and had usyd him verye well, and was his request to syngnifye to your honor. Thus the Lord preserve your honor, both nowe and ever. Yours to comande,

Jan. 1569. JHON LEACHE."

The Queen writes to the Earl of Sussex, 22nd January:—"We grete you well. Whereas Thomas Bishopp, a Scott born, and yet our subject, hath bene, as your self understandeth, in the custody of one Richard Dudley, towards the west borders, by order of our coosyn, the Erle of Warwick, and, as presently appereth by his confessions sent to us by you, he hath grete understandyng of the originall circumstances of this late rebellion" She therefore orders him to be sent to Windsor.—S. P.

He was accordingly transferred to Windsor, and thence to the Tower; where, on the 17th June, 1570, Sir H. Nevell and Mr. Henry Knolles were ordered by the Privy Council to examine him. On the 6th April he was arraigned at Westminster, and confessed the treason with which he was charged, and was condemned accordingly. A letter was written to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to suffer his wife and daughter to have access to him, 31st March, 1571.—*Privy Council Books.* And, in a note of the prisoners in the Tower, 14th June, 1572, Thomas Byshope is stated to be one "condemned for treason."—S. P.

In March, 1572, an annuity of twenty marcs was granted to Cecilie Bishop, out of the lands of Thomas Bishop, her husband; and in 1577, a lease, upon surrender of the manor of Pocklington, was granted to Margaret Byshop, for twenty-one years: rent, £30.—*Privy Seal Records.* How long old Bishop remained in prison does not appear; and it would seem doubtful if he ever regained his liberty. His son, Thomas, was executed at York, 24th March, 1569-70.

The life of the elder Bishop, who is called by Sir Thos. Gargrave "an old practizer," would form a curious and interesting history. In a pedigree entered in a Yorkshire visitation, in 1584, he is described as "descended of the family of his surname, in Scotland, to whom King Henry VIII. gave the manor of Poklington, in the county of York, in

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* Marmaduke Blakiston, a younger son of Thomas Blakiston, of Blakiston, Esq. He seems to have been occupied principally as a penman; and Hamelyng says, in his examination, he "was a principal wrytor of things."—*Haynes, p.* 594. His name does not occur afterwards.

† See page 37. He was at Loraine in 1571, and died in exile.

county of York, esq.* John Trollopp, late of Thornley, county

in the 36th year of his reign, and to his heirs male; in which charter the King calls him, *beloved servant;*" and to have married the widow of the Lord Keere, in Scotland. There are several documents relating to him in the State Paper Office, which are in general much defaced, and difficult to read. It may, however, be gleaned from them, that he was in the service of King James V.; and afterwards secretary, and much in the confidence of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, afterwards Regent; but, having incurred the displeasure of the Countess, who was the Lady Margaret Douglass, niece to Henry VIII. he was accused, amongst other things, of exercising undue influence over the Earl's mind, and exciting strife between him and his wife. From his answers to various interrogataries, apparently about 1566, he denies running away with the Lard of Keer's wife, which was imputed to him: "albeitht thei wor never maryed, but soo bruted;" but that he married her in the presence of Keer and his friends. In speaking of the Earl of Lenox, he says, "He that gave his father the last stroke upon the nek, and cutt his throtl, presently enjoyeth my landes."

The Lard of Keer gave him, amongst other things, "two daggers, the Scottish cronikles, a booke of Scottishe armes, the plattes of the castells of Edinburgh and Strevelinge." He had the conducting of all the Earl of Lenox's weighty affairs in Scotland. He had the conferences of marriage both for the Dowager, and also for the Scottish Queen. He was also commissioned for the Earl's own marriage; and with covenants under the greate seale of Englande, "swore him a perpetual subject hear; and sence, with the Lord Dagers, with the Duke of Northumberland: and last, upon ther refusall, agreed with the Duke of Somersett for the maryage of my Lorde Dernelie, his sone." Lady Lenox, seeking to rule her husband, "pyked querel" to remove him; and made her husband, against "his owne nator," accuse him of divers misdemeanors, from which, however, he cleared himself, before the King, at Guilford. He had the secret guard of Earl Bothwell, by the Duke of Northumberland and Lord Wharton. When he was in the sanctuary, at Westminster, his wife died; and Lady Lenox would not let her gentlemen attend the funeral: but Lord Paget took charge of his lands; and Mr. John Clerke, of the Privy Seal, on his wife's death, sent him some "double ducats, oulde angells, and a souverane of thirty shillings," which he paid, at her burial, to the priest of St. Margarets (about 1558). He states his son to be at Cambridge, and brought up in the fear of God. He concludes a long and desultory defence by declaring, "finally, for the rule of my body, I live under the charge of two discrete majestrates, my Lord Presidente, and my Lord th Archbishop of Yorke, within the square of the law."

In another examination, he says, he was called to the service of Henry VIII, who for his good conduct, (in presence of Charles Duke of Suffolk, in his privy chamber, at Boulogne) took him off his knees in the King's arms, "within his nyght gowne," declaring he should never be in "suche danger." He was his "gracious lord," and gave him £20 in land three months before his death. He was by him and King Edward placed in commission with Lord Wharton for five years upon the marches. He was sworn servant to Queen Mary; "and tho I was delated to hir by some, not the meanest in that court, for an heretik," she "trusted me above all my nation to her deing daye."

In *Haynes, p.* 18, is a letter from Hen. VIII. to the Earl of Lenox, in which he acknowledges the receipt of his letter of credence, by Thomas Bishop, his secretary; which, Lesley says, was "to offre his service, and to require his helpe aganis the Governor, and utheris of the Frenche factione in Scotlande."—*Lesley's Hist. of Scotland.* And he further states him to be (*p.* 974) an ardent supporter of Queen Mary; and wrote to Sir James Melville, desiring him to shew the Queen his letter, in which he said, "That as Bothwell was believed to be the murderer of her husband,—was known to be married, and an abandoned profligate,—so could he not believe that her Majesty would so far forget what she owed to the memory of herself, to her son, and to her country, as to give him her hand; which, if she did, he warned her she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Melville gives the history of the same letter p. 78, 79.

who

* Lord Scroop writes, on the 1st Jan. 1570, that Christopher Danby is at one John Scott's house, at Colebeck; which John Smith, on being sent for, denied, and was committed. He is mentioned as having been at Leeds, with two hundred rebel horsemen.—S. P. He was an exile and a pensioner.

of Durham, esq.* Anthony Hebborne, late of Hardwyke, county of Durham, esq.† Raulfe Conyers, late of Layton, esq.‡ John Gower, late of Richmond, county of York, gentle-

who shewed it to the Queen; and she had the weakness to mention it to Bothwell, who was extremely angry with Melville.

In his examination immediately after his arrest, he says, that he heard from the Bishop of Ross's secretaries, that great aid was offered to Queen Mary, by Spain, of men and money, if she could be got out of England; that France was in too great debility to raise an army for twenty years; and that the Duke of Alva had orders from King Philip to suffer the Queen of Scotts to lack neither men nor money; and that he offered her in marriage the King, Don John, his base brother, or Charles of Austria; but desired her not to make a promise of marriage. He says, he told the Bishop, that France and Spain would not rescue her; and if he did not submit to the Queen's (Elizabeth) ways, "he should overthrow hir, and themselves also."

In the Bishop of Ross's examination, 26th Oct. 1571, he says, *(Murdin, p. 31.)* the Queen of Scotts sent "yong Thomas Busshop," and others, to the Earls. (See also *Haynes, p. 595.)* In the interrogataries of Bishop, printed in *Murdin, p. 215*, 5th May, 1572, he says, the cause of the rebellion "was partly for relygion, and partly, for that some of them thought therby to mend theyr owen estates; which they intended to brynge to passe, by settynge up of the Scots Quene, under whome they louked not only to have relygion mayntened, but allso to have taken advauncement and preferment by her meanes." He sent his son to the Scotts Queen, "for the stay of th interprice," thinking it would be dangerous unto her; "and for that he louked for no good success therof."

* His life interest in Thornley and Morden were forfeited. He was pardoned in May 16th, 1574. *(Privy Seal Records.)* The history of this family is written with a graphic pencil by the late historian of the county. (*See Vol. I. p. 88.*) The pardoned rebel lived until 1611. His grandson, John, had to claim the shattered remains of the family estate before a Berkshire jury, from the lessee of the crown. Mortgage succeeded mortgage; and while the estate was thus "mouldering away," his eldest son, John, in a sudden quarrel, slew William Selby, Esq. of Newcastle, at a horse race, and was outlawed. The unfortunate father joined the Royal standard in 1641. The remaining sons, Colonel Michael Trollop, was killed at Wigan; and William died of his wounds at the siege of Oxford. A petition to the King, in 1663, states that:—

"John Trollop, late of Hulam, in the Bishopricke of Durham, gent. having been found guilty of the murder of one William Selby, Esq. about thirty-three years since; and being the only remaining child of John Trollop, the father, who had two sons more, bothe eminently active in the service of his Majesties father, of blessed memory, and slaine in the late wars: the said John Trollop, the father, humbly petitions his Majesty to vouchsafe his gracious pardon to his son, John, whose execution would leave the aged petitioner issueless, and be the utter extinction of his family." The outlaw was pardoned, and lived at Thornley after his father's death. The numerous family were now reduced to two individuals—the father and the son. The son died in 1679, and the father sold the manor and remaining lands, together with the Thornley Porch (the family burial place) to John Spearman, Esq. whose son, Gilbert, reunited by purchase the scattered parts of the estate; which are now vested in his lineal representative H. I. Spearman, of Newton Hall, Esq.

† In Feb. 1573, a lease of the capital mansion of Hardwyke, for 21 years, rent £25, without fine, was granted to George Freville *(Privy Seal Records)*; and the whole estate appears to have become vested in his family. (See *Surtees, Vol. III. p. 34.*)

‡ Eldest son and heir of Cuthbert Conyers, Esq. Mr. Surtees says, he "forfeited only his life interest in the estate, which descended, under an entail, to his nephew, Sir Ralph Conyers, Knt. (Vol. II. p. 37.) He was buried at Sedgefield, 13th Jan. 1605.

In Jan. 1572, Thomas Cotton, a gentleman pensioner, had a lease for 21 years of the house of Layton, rent four score pounds, and no fine, because the rent is increased from £12 to four score. Nov. 1574, the rent appears reduced to £9. Dec. 1575, lease to Rafe Conyers, of the capital tenement of Leighton, for 21 years, rent £24 13s. 4d. and no fine, on surrender of Thomas Cotton's old lease. He was pardoned in February, 1573.—*Privy Seal Records.* He was pardoned, May, 1573.

man.* Tristram Fenwick, late of Brinckeborne, co. of Northumberland, gent.† Anthony Welberie, late of Bransepethe, county of Durham, gent.‡ John Saltmershe, late of Rednes, county of York, gent.§ Henry Johnson, late of Waltonhead, county of York, esq.|| Symon Digbie, late of Askue, county of York, esq.¶ John Fulthropp, late of Islebeck, county of York, esq.** Leonard Medcalfe, late of Beereparke, county of York, esq.†† Robart Claxton, late of Old-Parke, county of Durham, gent.‡‡

* Son of Ralph Gower, of Richmond, Esq. by Anne, sister of Sir Christopher Wray, chief justice. On the 1st June, 1570, Lord Sussex solicits the life of John Gower, and that he may be allowed to compound; that he is a young man, and hath not been a malicious offender; that he is son to Serjeant Wraye's sister; and that Cottrell, his secretary, shall marry his mother. It would seem that this application had not been successful, as he again presses his suit in October following.

"The effecte of my L. of Sussex sute for John Gower, is, that it will please her Majestie to graunt him her graciowse pardon, and admitt him to compound for his lande. And the cawses moving his L. therunto be these:—1. The simplicity of the yonge manne, who symply was ledde to this his firste faulte. 2.—Her majesty shall be no loser. 3.—His Lordship wolde gratifye Serjent Wraye, uncle to the partie. 4.—For that his servaunte who, of long tyme, hath served him in all the Quenes cawses committed to his charge, shall marry with the parties mother, to whom his Lordship (presuminge on the Quenes goodnes) did, in December last, undertake to be an humble sutour to her Majesty.

Mem.—The lande is scarse £50 p. ann. wherof the parties mother possesseth the half, in dede, for her joincture." Endorsed, 24th Octo. 1570, Th Erl of Sussex sute for Jo. Gower.—*State Papers*.

He was pardoned; and was living in Paris in 1582, and held disputations with the British Ambassador there, who writes to Walsingham on the subject.—*Strype, Vol. III. p.* 134.

† Pardoned. (See page 117.) Surtees says he was a younger son of the house of East Haddon, and from whose grandson, Colonel Fenwick, of Brinkeburne, the Williamsons inherit their estates at Monkwearmouth. (Vol. I. p. 77.)

‡ Called of Brancepath, but perhaps of Castle Eden. Pardoned. See page 117.

§ Was pardoned, July, 1571.—*Privy Seal Records*.

|| See page 226. He was reserved for the second execution. Son and heir of Sir Thomas Johnson. He married Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Richard Norton, Esq. In Sep. 1572, the Queen gives all her right of a lease of the park of Spofforthe, and a house, called the Horse house, in Yorkshire, granted by King Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Johnson, Knight, and Henry, his son, for four score years, now in hand, by reason of the conviction of Henry, the son, for rebellion, to Edmonde Sketez, during the years yet to come, being 45 years and two months, rent £13 6s. 8d.; and also a gifte of halfe the woods.—*Privy Seal Records*. He was pardoned, May, 1573.

¶ Executed. See page 226. His son Rowland served under Sir George Bowes.

** Executed at York. See page 226.

†† See page 227. He was reserved for the second execution.

‡‡ See page 227. Reserved for the second execution, He was pardoned, March 1572, at the suit of the Earl of Leicester; and died at Old Park, in 1587. "The Claxtons, in all their branches, were zealously attached to the Nevilles;" and a portion, at least, of the possessions of the old park line, seems to have been derived from a direct gift of the Nevilles."—*Surtees, Vol. III. p.* 298. He appears to have lost all his property; and even his lease of a fourth part of Ricknell Grange, from the Bishop of Durham, for 32 years yet to come, at a yearly rent of £7 10s. was seized by the Sheriff: so that his son, Sir John Claxton, of Nettlesworth, inherited nothing but a name, proverbial for affection to a noble and unfortunate family.

The late lamented author of the History of Durham has quoted one verse only from the ballad of "Claxton's Lament," (Vol. I. p. 76,) but no apology is necessary to the reader for giving the remainder.

Robart Lambart, late of Owton, county of Durham, esq.* Raufe

CLAXTON'S LAMENT.

LISTEN, English merchants brave,
To *Robert* Claxton, woful man!
Who once had lands and livings fair,
Most like an English gentleman.

But the flower is shed, and the spring is fled,
And he wanders alone at the close of the day;
And the sleety hail, in the moonshine pale,
Glistens at eve, on his locks of grey.

To Wetherby the Earls are gone;
A message came, so fair and free,—
Now swear thee, on the holy rood,
I charge thee, Claxton, ride with me.

The Earle, he is my gracious Lord,—
The Queen, she is my liegeous Quene;
To stand upon the worser side
No Claxton yet was ever seen.

While thus in doubtful guise I stand,
Another message came so free,
Resolve thee, Claxton! out of hand,
If thou wilt ought for the love of me.

We only stand to guard our own—
Our lives are set in jepardie;
And if thou wilt not ride with us,
Yet shall thy lands forfaulted be."

"Now, foul befall the venom'd tongues
"That slander'd two such noble peers;
"And brought such woe and misery
"On silver hairs, and failing years.

"To Wetherby I needs must ride,
"No better chance since I may see:
"My eldest son is full of pride;
"My second goes for love of me.

"Now bide at home my eldest son;—
"Thou art the heir of all my land."
"If I stay at home for land or fee,
"May I be branded in forehead and hand."

"The Percies are rising in the north;
"The Nevilles are gathering in the west;
"And Claxtons heir may bide at home,
"And hide him in the Cushats nest?

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* See page 227. Was reserved for the second execution, but did not suffer death. In August, 1571, a lease for 31 years of the capital house of Owton, and lands and possessions of Robert Lambert, attainted of treason, was made to William Knolles, gent.; rent, £33 6s. 8d.—*Privy Seal Records.* In 1574, a portion of his land in Yorkshire, of the yearly value of £5 9s. 10d. was sold to Charles Hall, gent. for £128 14s.—*Privy Seal Records.*

Coniers, late of Cottam, county of Durham, gent.* Cuthbert Wytham, late of Bretonby, county of York, gent. Robart Heighington, late of Richmonde, county of York, gent.† Thomas Jenny, gent.‡ Cuthbert Fenwick, late of Southe

"Now rest at home, my youngest son,
"Thy limbs are lithe, thy age is green."
"Nay, father, we'll to Wetherby,
"And never more at home be seen.

"We'll keep our bond to our noble Lord,—
"We'll tine our faith to the Southern Queen;
"And when all is lost, we'll cross the seas,
"And bid farewell to bow'r and green.

"Our tow'rs may stand, till down they fall,—
"That's all the help they'll get from me;
"False Southrons will be lords of all,
"But we'll ne'er hear it o'er the sea."

Now the Percies' crescent is set in blood;
And the northern bull his flight has taen;
And the sheaf of arrows are keen and bright;
And Barnard's walls are hard to gain.

The sun shone bright, and the birds sung sweet,
The day we left the North Countrie;
But cold is the wind, and sharp is the sleet,
That beat on the exile over the sea.

* He was apparently pardoned; but the estate of Cotam-Conyers was granted to Roger Manners, Esquire of the Body, 15th Eliz.—See *Surtees, Vol. III. p.* 218.

† Secretary to the Earl of Northumberland. Hamelyn mentions a letter written by him, on the part of his master, to the Queen of Scotts. (*Haynes, p.* 595.) He fled to the low counties. and was in attendance on the Countess of Northumberland. He is named, 25th Feb. 1577, in a letter of Dr. Tho. Wilson—"There have ben of late in this towne of Namur, theis Englyshmen, and sithence my coming, all gone, but Sir F. Inglefeild, who is hidden in a nunnerie; the names hereafter follow:—*Highenton*, two of the Tempestes, Thwinge, Owen, Dambygh, &c." S. P.

‡ Thomas Jenny—sometimes called Genny, or Jennings. Jenny's account of himself, in answer to certain interrogataries, is, that he was not privy to the enterprise; yet, perceiving matters growing to trouble, he sent to the Earl of Northumberland, at Beamish, eight or nine days before the rising, who appointed to meet him at Allerton; where he "perswayded and diswaded" with him not to resist the Queen's orders. He left York in consequence of a message from Lady Northumberland, to speak with her at Topliff, being in great "hevyness;" and after an hour's conference of comfort with her, he was returning to York, when he heard that the Earl of Sussex had intelligence of his doings. Still, however, he proceeded, when he met Mr. Ratcliffe (see page 71), who was going towards Brancepath; but as he got nearer York he debated with himself on his position, and suddenly resolved to overtake Mr. Ratcliffe, with whom he proceeded to Brancepath. To the question, of what charge or credit he had about the Earl of Sussex, he says, None; that he was always entertained aloof, as a stranger. And hearing that the Earl had some suspicion of him, and had let fall some "displeasant words," he had an explanation with him, which ended in the Earl's desiring him to choose whether he would remain or not; and he determined to remain. To another question, that he had been considered a principal doer in the "action," a secretary, and a chieftain; and was employed in practice with foreign powers, he says:—"I never practised with any forrayne Princes, nether first or last; nor, to my knowledge, never the Earles, nor none of ther confederacy. To the secretaryship, indeede, I drew them ther last proclamation, which I did at Dorrington,

Sheeles, gent. Cuthbert Armarer, late of Belford, gent.* Rychard Dacre, late of Ayketon, county of Cumberland, gent.† Wylliam Dacre, late of St. Bees, county of Cumberland, gent.‡ Robart Collingwood, late of Abberwicke, county of Northumberland, gent.§ Robart Collingwood, late of Etel, county of Northumberland, gent. John Welborne, late of Branspethe,

being comanded thereto by the Earl of Westmerland, who ltooke me by the arme, and said, sence you are amongst us, we will make you do the thing we will; and therupon comanded one M. Blaxton to give me instruction, and I penned it accordingly; and then was the first that ever I knew what they intended in taking up armes. More, I writt three letters at Rypon, to the Erles of Darby, Cumberland, and the Lord Wharton, declaring only ther manner of proceeding, by the forme of the proclamation inclosed,requyring there assystance unto the action; but I know not whether they were sent or no, for I delivered them penned to one Mr. Athington (Heighington), my Lord of Northumberlands secretary. For any office in the campe, I bare none, for I was a mere stranger to all the companye, savinge the two Erles; indeed, at Knaresboro, my L. of Northumberland made me Lievetenant of his horsemen, which I accepted, depending but on one dayes service."

"You were holden for a protestant, and trained up in creditt under Sir Henry Norris and Mr. Randolph, in the Quenes Majesties service, bothe of France and Scotland? Indeed I was very diverslie holden therin, and likewise brought into great suspicion,...for my religion; and then that I was employed from the E. of Sussex, to dischiffer and discover their doings. The awctor appered one Thomas Markenfield, who had said I was not just to the Erles: upon which words, I challenged hym, at Brampton, to have delt with him, which was forborne for that instant, upon cause; but at Exam, I complained to my Lord of Northumberland how I was delt withall; who told me that he was gladd I had intelligence of some other then he, what Markenfield had reported. Marry, he told me that I should knowe more, so that I wold promys hym to forbeare any challenge, or revenge, for that season:"—*State Paper Office.*

It does not appear where these answers were given; but he escaped into the low countries. In Feb. 1576, Dr. Thomas Wilson, who was sent into Flanders to procure the banishment of the fugitives, writes, that the rebells "swarm about Don John, the lewde Erele, Stewkley the romanist, and *Jenny*, that was at Milan." And he writes to Lord Burghley, from Bruxelles, 19th Feb. 1576:—"The Earl of Westmerland, Stewkly, and *Jenny*, are cume with the other rabble of rebels and fugityves to Don Jon; and use themselves very insolently agaynst our Soverain, as I am informed by Mr. Powles soone, who is returned from them hether."—S. P.

* He fled to the low countries. The Earl of Sussex writes to Cecil, from the information of a spy, that on "the 24th of August, at 9 in the forenone, he sawe the Countess of Northumberland, accompanied with the L. Seaton, a brother of the secretaries, Robert Tempest and his son Mighell, Robert Car, *Cuthbert Armorer*, George Pringell, Burton, Stokoo, Randeling, and Dennis, and two gentlemen, take shipping at Aberdeen in a shipp called *The Port of Lyeth*, and so went to the sea. The Earl of Westmerland, the 27th of August, toke shipping at Aberdeen, and with him Henry and John Ridley, John Welbery, and Thomas Watson and Shaw. From Sir George Bowes howse at Stretlam, iijth of Sep. 1570."—S. P.

His "descendants preserved their property to sacrifice it in the cause of Charles I." Surtees, page 77, Vol. I.

† Descended from a younger branch of the family of Dacre,—"one af the hardiest and most warlike houses of the Eastern Border."—*Surtees, Vol. I. p.* 77.

‡ He had a pardon for treason, in May, 16th Eliz.—*Privy Council Books.* A letter from the Bichop of London, 27th Feb. 1570, in favour of William Dacres, states him to be a son of Richard Dacre, of Newcastle, gent.; and that he married Ann Grindall; "and (as I feare reported, for I knowe no certainty therof,) confederated with Leo. Dacres and others, into the traterous rebellion moved in those parts."—*Lansdown MS. No.* 12.

§ In April, 1574, pardons were granted for George Pringle, *Robert Collingwood*, and William Slingeby, gentleman, for assisting the late rebells in the north.—*Privy Seal Papers.*

gent.* George Horsley, late of Ackelington Parke, county of Northumberland, gent.† Thomas Greene, late of Todcastra, county of York, yeoman. Thomas Taylour, late of Todcastre, yeo.‡ John Cowper, late of Keswyke, county of Yorke, taylour. Raulfe Swynnowe, late of Durham, county of Durham, gent.§ James Swynnow, late of Thornehill, county of Durham, gent.|| most falsely and trayterously, by open rebellion in the northe partes of this your realme of England, have committed, perpetrated and done, many detestable and abominable treasons, against your Highnes, to the great peril and danger of your most Royal person, and the utter destruction and overthrow of the good state and publique peace of this your said realme of England, if God of his infinite goodnes had not, in due time, opened and revealed to your Highnes their traiterous intents and purposes; of and for which said treasons, being most manifest and apparent, the said traitors and offendors aforenamed have beene lawfully indicted: and some of them being fledd, have beene, and are lawfully, and by due processe, outlawed, and thereby justly attainted: and some other of them have bene, and are justly and lawfully convicted and attainted, by tryall of the country, according to the lawes of this your realme, as by the records of their severall indictments and attainders, more

* Query,—if not John Welbery, who had a pardon, Nov. Eliz. 18 and 19, for treasons in the north. S. P. See page 146.

† April, 1576, pardon for Henry Rydly, *George Horsley*, and James Swynow, of their offences committed in the rebellion of the north. S. P.

‡ 23rd Dec. 1569. Letter from W. Drury:—"There is one of Tadcaster, whose name is Taylor. He is a pease off lawyer, one of the messengers of the Bishop of Ross. Young Gray, the schoolmasters son, of Newcastle, is another." He was at Louvaine in 1571, and desired Hen. Simpson to tell his wife he would be in England next spring. S. P.

§ He is mentioned in a letter from William Drury, marshall of Berwick, dated 20th Feb. 1570, to Cecil, wherein he says—The Lord Governor (Hunsdon) "deperted hense on the 16th of thys present, with three hundred footmen of thys garryson, and the hundred horsemen that cam owte off the Byshopryke, whyche hindeed ys the only supply that thys towen or Easte Marches hathe. The Skotes have ben in nyghtly. sythence hys deperture, burnyng and spoylyng; and are now agayne gatheryng, and makes theyr acompte to be near four thousand men, wych, if the nomber were fewer, we are not able to lette theyre interpryse." He says, they intend to lay waste all beyond Till, Norham, and Ilandshyre, &c. "Owte of thys towen I can spare no more, my nomber remaynyng beyng butt two hundred footemen and the olde bawnde off horsemen; wyche are so dekayed, that, as Mr. Brown can afferm unto your honor, there ys not forty of the four score servysable, and we want all schott on horseback." He then mentions some further ravages committed by the Scotts; and says, that last night they were burning within six miles of the towen. "The cawser thereoff was *Raphe a Swynnoe*. They have taken, sythens they began at Lermouthe, nere thre hundred men prysoners, in thys East Marches. It woold pytye eny Inglysshe harte to see and heare the estate of the country,"

|| April, 1576, pardoned,—S. P. (Q. of Cornhill.)

plainly it doth and may appeare; and for the which severall offences, some of the said offenders have suffered paines of deathe, according to their demerits.

Salvo to the Earl of Northumberland's brother; Of others rights, except the offendors and their heirs; Of the Bishop of Durham's right, except *for this time*, as the Queen has "spent and consumed a great masse of treasure in repressing the said rebells."

Of all grants and leases made by the Queen since the rebellion; of pardons granted before; and salvo for the Countess of Cumberland and others, for Edward Dacre's guift.

The bill of attainder was read a first time, in the upper house, 10th April, 1571; and a second time, 25th April. It was read a first time, in the commons, on the 1st May: and Sir Henry Percy was appointed to be heard, with his counsel, on Saturday morning, at eight o'clock. On the 5th of May, it was read a second time; and on the 9th May, it was brought from the lords, with alterations. On the 10th May, a conference was held with the lords; and on the 15th it passed the house.—*Harleian MS.* 73, *f.* 291.

In Dodsworth's manuscripts, Bodleian library, vol. xlix., 10, is, "a survey of the lands of such rebels as took part with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, in the time of Elizabeth, from a book in the custody of Sir Thomas Fanshaw, the King's Remembrancer, f. 55—58, imperfect.—*This account is printed in Sadler, vol. II. p.* 191.

THE NORTONS.

It was the time when England's Queen
Twelve years had reigned, a sovereign dread;
Nor yet the restless crown had been
Disturbed upon her virgin head;
But now the inly-working North
Was ripe to send its thousands forth,
A potent vassalage, to fight
In Percy's and in Neville's right,
Two Earls fast leagued in discontent,
Who gave their wishes open vent;
And boldly urged a general plea,
The rites of ancient piety
To be triumphantly restored,
By the dread justice of the sword!

The white doe of Rylstone.

Thee, Norton, wi' thine eight good sonnes,
They doom'd to dye, alas! for ruth!
Thy reverend lockes thee could not save,
Nor them their faire and blooming youthe.

The rising of the North.

Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, esq., generally called "Old" Norton, was the most important person (the Earls excepted) engaged in the Rebellion. He was governor of Norham Castle,* on the 5th Nov. 1555, when the Privy Council wrote to him to give an account of the "manner of the apprehension of

* This important fortress appears to have been still further neglected, after Norton's time, for Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, from Berwick, 8th Aug. 1570:—

"I am forcyd to crave your ayde, for sum reperacyons for Norham Castle, which I assure you, ys yn so grete decaye, as ther ys no place yn the howse dry, when it raynes; and the hawle ys a fyshe poole at every grete rayne, and both the stones and the timber flowne so, one from another, as yf ther be nott sume present helpe, yt wyll, I feare, fall doune thys wynter.....The plage is very sore at Newcastell, and sum of ytt come to Anwyke. God kepe yt hens, for, yf yt come hethar, yt wyll skowre 6 or 7000 pepoll yn ytt, wherof 2000 chyldren as I thynke."—*Orig. S. P.*

the L. of Vemeston, and whether he had committed any offence, whereby he ought, by the laws of the Marches, to forfeit the money taken with him."—*Privy Council Books.* He was still governor of the same fortress, 19th Aug. 1557, when Henry, Earl of Westmoreland, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "if yt were not for my Lord of Duresme's cause, whome I am bounde to love and honor, I wolde accuse Mr. Norton to the Quenes Majestie, of his negligence in the keeping of Norham." *Lodge, Vol. I. p.* 261. He was one of the council of the North, (1556) and high sheriff of the county of York, 10th Eliz. By his first wife, Susan, fifth daughter of Richard, Lord Latimer, he had a numerous family of sons and daughters. He engaged in the Rebellion, from attachment to the antient faith; and he was strongly urged and influenced by the Earl of Northumberland, towards whom he entertained the warmest feelings of personal regard and friendship. Cambden describes him as "an old gentleman, with a reverend gray head, bearing a cross, with a stremer."

> "The Nortons ancyent had the cross,
> And the five wounds our Lord did beare."

The age of Norton (seventy-one) had not damped his ardour, and he rushed headlong into this ill-fated enterprise, which brought such misery and desolation upon his house. The family, though deeply implicated, did not totally perish, as the blood of old Norton is "widely diffused through some of the best and worthiest houses of Yorkshire."

On the flight of the rebels, he was seen by Constable, the spy, at Cavers, who says *(Sadler, Vol. II. p.* 114*)* "he was glad of my comming, and inquired of his sones William, Christofer, and Marmaduke; and reioysed that they were living;" and said "that his coming away was so sodaine, that he brought away neither horse, aparell, nor money, but was glad to ride of a horse of his sonnes; nor his sonnes brought neither aparell nor money; so they are as bare as Joab." Happily, he resisted the treacherous advice of Constable, to place himself under his protection and hospitality, in England, until a favorable opportunity should occur for procuring his pardon. He fled to Flanders, with his sons, Francis and Sampson; and, in a letter from the Duke of

Alva to the King of Spain, preserved in *Les Archives du Royaume de Belgique*, at Bruxelles, dated 14th Feb. 1570, giving an account of the pensions which he had granted to the English fugitives, the allowance to Richard Norton, *l'anchien*, is eighteen crowns, monthly, Richard Norton the same, and Sampson Norton's pension is fixed at ten crowns monthly.

The property of Richard Norton was confiscated. In Sep. 1570, Sir George Carey prefers a request, that the grant of the demesne of Norton Coniers, and Hertford, parcel of Richard Norton's lands, lately forfeited, amounting to the value of £100. by the year, or thereabouts, might, for the present, be stayed: and, the amount of Norton's lands is stated to be £311. per annum.—*State Paper Office.*

The period of his death is uncertain; but, worn down with age and trouble, it is not probable that he was long burthensome on the bounty of the king of Spain.*

Thomas Norton, a younger brother of old Norton, was also engaged in the Rebellion, and paid the penalty with his life. The Queen considered the capture of the Nortons of such importance that she wrote to the Earl of Sussex, and Sir R. Sadler, 16th Jan. 1569—70, "and wher we perceave ij of old Richard Nortons sons ar taken, that is to saye, William and Christopher, and, likewise, Thomas Norton, brother to Richard Norton: we are desyrouse that they all might be savely sent upp to our Court, with severall conductors, so as they shuld not conferre together, nor yet with any other."—*Copy, State Paper Office.* They were imprisoned in the tower, and, having pleaded guilty to

* An original and well-painted portrait of old Norton hangs in Grantley Hall. It is a three-quarter's length; he is represented standing near a table; in his left hand he holds a book partly open, and his right rests on a table: his dress consists of a loose black gown, faced with dark fur, relieved at the neck with a small white ruff; on his head he wears a bl. ck cap, and, suspended from his neck, by a broad ribband, hangs a crucifix, bearing the image of our Saviour. The countenance is florid; the hair gray, but the slight beard on the chin and upper lip is of a sandy colour; his eyes are small and grey; the contour is pleasing, and the general expression is grave, but not stern,—vigilant, wary, and contemplative. He looks like one better fitted to shine at "council board" than "to rise in such a fray."—I. R. W. The arms of Norton—azure, a maunch ermine, debruised with a bend gules, are painted on one side, and, on the other, the date, ANNO 1566.—ÆTATIS SVÆ, 68.

There are also portraits of Thomas Norton, and one of his brothers, sons of old Norton, at Wonersh, near Guildford.—*Lord Grantley, Feb.* 20, 1839.

the treasons imputed to them, (6th April, 1570) Thomas and Christopher, were ordered for execution; and, on the 27th May, 1570, Thomas was placed on a hurdle, with his nephew Christopher, and drawn from the Tower to Tyburn. His "confession" amounts to little, for, being pressed by the preacher to acknowledge his offence against God and his prince, he answered, that, for the offence made and committed towards the Queen's majesty, he had the law for it: and, therefore, must suffer death, and to that end he was come thither; and so asked God forgiveness for his offences. He was then requested to say the Lord's prayer, in the vulgar tongue. "Sir, quoth he, and answered very obstinately, that he would pray in Latin, and, therefore, prayed him, that he would not molest his conscience. Then the secondary bade him, if he would needs say it in Latin, to say it then secretly to himself;—and so he did. His Latin prayers being ended, the preacher exhorted him very earnestly to say the Lord's prayer and belief, in English. At last, after much exhortation, he granted to say it in English; and so said the Lord's prayer in English, whereunto he added the Ave Maria, and then the belief. And then he desired, not only the audience but also all the saints in heaven, to pray for him, both then and at all times, as well after his death as then, he being alive."..... "He hung a certain space; and then was taken down and quartered, in the presence of his nephew, Christopher Norton, who then presently must drink of the same cup."*

Their heads were "set on London bridge, and their quarters upon the sundry gates of the city of London." *Howell's State Trials, I.* 1085, *from Morgan's Phœnix Britanicus.*

"But what sayest thou, O Francis Norton,
Thou art mine eldest sonn and heire;
Somewhat lies brooding in thy breast;
Whatever it bee, to me declare."

Francis Norton, called of Balderslie, eldest son and heir of Richard Norton, esq. married Albreda, sister and co-heir of

* There suffered also, a noble martyrdom in the same cause, two worshipful gentlemen of the house of Norton, of whom the one was called Thomas Norton, and the other Christopher; Christopher was Thomas's brother's son, and Thomas was Christopher's uncle; who both could neither be removed from their faith, nor be brought to confess Elizabeth to be lawful Queen.—*Sanders, Lib.* 7, 732.

Thomas Wimbish, co. Linc. He took a prominent part in the rebellion ; and, after the discomfiture of the rebel army, he fled, with his father and his brother Sampson, first into Scotland and afterwards to Flanders.

His eldest son and heir, John, was apparently in trouble by his father's imprudence, as Lady Elizabeth Stapleton, sister of Sir George Bowes's first wife, writes to entreat his assistance to enable her to go to London about the business of her daughter Norton, (wife of John) which she was unable to do from "lacke of money."—*Orig. letter*, 4 *Feb.* 1570, *Bowes's MS. v.* 3. *p.* 40. Francis was very anxious to obtain the Queen's pardon ; and John Fitzwilliam writes to Cecil, 4 Feb. 1571, that Mr. Francis Norton is a humble suitor, and liveth in hope of the Queen's pardon by his assistance. "The said Mr. Norton hath had conference with John Hambleton, a Skotte, which Hambleton, after long conference with Mr. Norton, concluded, that it was better both for Englishmen and Skoteshemen to contente themselves with the government of governores of their owne contreyes, rather than with strangers."—*Galba, C. IV.*

John Lee writes from Antwerp to Cecil, (last of March, 1571) that Lady Northumberland, and the other rebels, greatly dislike Francis Norton for having submitted to her Majesty ; they wholly condemn him, "affirming, that in the ende he shall be well taught to know the dobbel dealings of your honor, and that he shall receive faire promises, which shall never be performed," which was true enough, yet he still continued to sue for pardon ; and the following letters, written by John Lee and signed by Francis Norton, will shew that Lord Liecester had been in communication with him ; and, that Norton was fully inclined to communicate what he might, *with honesty*. The orthography is so rude and obscure, that each sentence is a study ; and it has, therefore, been deemed necessary to render them intelligible by clothing them in modern spelling, without, however, altering a single syllable.

To the Earl of Leicester.

"My most especial good Lord,—I am greatly ashamed that I have not in all this long time written to your honor, my most

humble thanks for your comfortable letter sent unto me, which I received by the hands of Mr. Leye in the beginning of my melancholy (mallingcoly) sickness ; which hath continued on me these vi months, and now is turned to a quartain. I assure your honor that your letter was, and is, such a comfort unto me, that I think it hath preserved me from a great extremity ; trusting that your honor, together with the furtherances of my Lord Burlegh, who is also my good lord, shall obtain unto me in the end that which is my most desire, which is, the Queen's Majesty's most gracious pardon and favour. And, whereas, it hath pleased your honor to write unto me to deal with Mr. Ley in certain points, whereby your honor may the better sue for me ; I doubt not but in those points, which your honor demands of me, your honor knows the uttermost ; notwithstanding, I have signified unto Mr. Lee the original of the whole ; and if there be any other point that your honour is persuaded that I can resolve, if your honor will give me to understand, I shall most gladly declare the truth so far as, *with honesty*, I may : and further, I trust your honor will not urge me. As knoweth the Almighty, whom I beseech long to preserve your honor. From Antwerp, the second of April, 1572.

Your honors most assured to command,

(Signed) FRANCIS NORTON."

To the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burleigh.

My especial good Lords,—It were too troublesome to your honors to discourse the whole ground of our late disordered behaviour towards our Sovereign. Nevertheless, as well for the discharging of my duty, as satisfying of your honors, you shall understand as followeth :—first, whereas, it is conceived, and commonly reported that I should be a most earnest procurer of the Earl of Northumberland to our errors ; it is most untrue. For it is very well known in the country, that the said Earl and I were not friends ; and, dwelling both in one parish during the space of three years, I never came in his house nor company otherwise than by chance ; whereas I never tarried until such time as Dr. Morton came into England from Rome, who used such persuasions to the said Earl, and to my father, whom he had served in times passed, and to many others where he had

travelled to and fro in England for the said purpose, was the most earnest mover of the rebellion, shewing as many reasons to make for his purpose, which we, by experience, find to be most untrue. And to declare them all at large, I would most willingly, but it were too tedious. His first persuasion was to give us to understand of the ex-communication which threatened to us (as he said) danger sundry ways, as well touching our souls, as the loss of our country ; giving us further to understand that, all Christian princes, through the Pope's persuasions, would seek to subvert us, if we did not reform it within ourselves ; affirming that he had travelled through the most parts of England, and did find the most part of the common people most inclined thereunto ; if so be that any would once begin to take the enterprize in hand. Now, my lords, pleaseth you to understand, how, that in the time of these persuasions, the Earl of Northumberland sent for my father, unto whom he brake his mind, declaring unto him (knowing my father to be a catholick) the great grief he had, for that they all lived out of the laws of the Catholick church ; for the restitution whereof, he would willingly spend his life. And what other conference they had, I know not, but he did indent with my father, that in anywise he should command me to lay away all displeasures, and to come and speak with him, for that he thought I had some credit in the country. But at the first I refused to come unto him, until my father grew very angry with me, charging me upon his displeasure to go to a place in the field where the said Earl had appointed that I should meet him. And, to declare the whole truth to your honors, the Earl was the first that brake with me in the cause. Other persuasions we had to encourage us ; for, as it was reported unto us, by such as had dealings with the Spanish ambassador, that, if we would take so good a cause in hand, within xiiij days after we were in arms, we should be aided with money and men to our contentment. Further, we, understanding of the Queen's displeasure towards the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the nobility : whereupon we thought there would be some great stir, which caused us to assemble ourselves, divers times, together, to confer of our unadvised enterprise ; but our sundry meetings moved great sus-

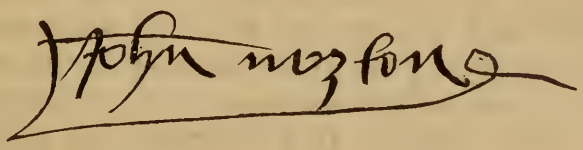
picion, and caused us also, amongst ourselves, to be somewhat doubtful, lest we should be apprehended; which, in the end, caused us all to draw to Brancepath, where, in conferring together what was to be done, the most were of opinion to go into arms, saving the Earl of Northumberland, who did refer himself, notwithstanding his opinion, to do as the most would. But, I was wholly against it, (as I shall be well able to prove) or else I will be content to lose the fruition of my pardon, (if it might stand with her highnes' pleasure to grant it unto me) and suffer the laws for my desert. And, I persuaded so with them, at that present, that they were all contented to cease from stirring, and the chiefest doers to shift for themselves for a time. Whereupon, I, and certain others, departed from them, and were not at the beginning of their uproar, nor yet came to them two or three days after. As knoweth the Lord, who preserve your honors, and incline the Queen's Majesty's heart to be my good and gracious lady, as I mean to be to her a most dutiful and loyal subject, during my life. From Antwerp, the second of April, 1572.

(Signed) FRANCIS NORTON."

It does not appear that Francis Norton ever obtained a pardon; and he was left to pine in exile, with "hope deferred," supported on the bounty of the king of Spain. He is not further mentioned. In June, 1573, his wife, "Aubrey," was allowed one hundred marks, per annum, out of his lands, as long as they remained in the Queen's hands.—*Privy Seal Records.* In a return of rebels property he is stated to have had possessions in Nottingham and Lincolnshire.—*S. P.*

John Norton, second son, is not otherwise mentioned, than in a letter from William Wharton, of Rippon, gent. to Lord Burleigh, 9th March, 1572, who states that John Norton, one of the sons of Old Norton, was present with the Earls, at the market cross, at Rippon; and was assisting in their "traterous pretence," with three attendants, in arms, being his servants, well furnished, with every one "a steylle cappe, a steill coote, and a bill in his hande." He recommends that Richard Gascoyne should be secured, whose wife was one of the daughters of

Richard Norton, and says she "is gretly suspected to be a recetter of passengers from beyond the seas, and a prevye supporter of hir father."—*Lansdown MS. v.* 15, 95. John Norton was of Rippon, in 1574. He married, first, Jane, daughter of Robert Morton, of Bawtree, of the family of Dr. Morton, accused of being the instigator of the Rebellion; and, secondly, Margaret,* daughter of Christopher Readshaw.



Edmund Norton, of Clowcroft, third son, whose name does not occur as taking any part in the Rebellion. A lineal descendant of Edmund, in the sixth generation, by his personal talent, and high desert, raised the family to the peerage, 9th April, 1782; and, the present Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantley, is grandson to the first peer.

William Norton, of Hartforth, fourth son, was arraigned at Westminster, on the 6th April, 1570, where he confessed the treasons alleged against him, which was, perhaps, the most likely way to obtain pardon. The Earl of Warwick took a lively interest in his favor, and wrote to Sir George Bowes about him; who, in his reply, dated 11th April, 1570, says

* In Dec. 1601, a pardon is granted to Margaret, wife of John Norton, of Lasenby, for receiving Thomas Palliser, a seminary priest.—*Privy Seal Records.*

In the *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, MDCCXLI. p. 385, there is an account of the arrest of Thomas Pallicer, "in the house of Mr. John Norton (a gentleman of the family of the Nortons, of Norton Coniers) near Raven's Hall, in the parish of Laymsly. Mr. Norton and his lady were both also apprehended at the same time, for harbouring Mr. Palasor, and, with them, Mr. John Talbot, another Yorkshire gentleman, (born at Thornton, in Street) for being found in his company, and, for aiding and assisting him. They were all brought upon their trials, at Durham, in the summer assizes, and all condemned to die;—Mr. Pallicer, for being a seminary priest, and returning to England, contrary to the statute of Eliz. 27; and the other three for relieving and assisting him." They might have saved their lives, if they would go to church, "which they generously refusing to do, were all executed at Durham, August the 9th, 1600; only Mrs. Norton, being supposed to be with child, was reprieved."

This story is circumstantially related; and may, possibly, apply to John Norton, and his second wife, though he would be above seventy-six years of age, at the time specified.

Bishop Matthews preached a funeral sermon, on the death of Pallacer, Norton, and Talbot—from James iii, 13.—*Matthews' Diary.*

"I neyther harde, or cold perceyve William Norton to deall wythe any offyce or charge amongst the rebells, but (as I have hard yt affyrmed) he bothe refused the taking charge of horsemen, when it was offered unto hym, and, also, would wear no armour. Farther, upon my departure from the castle (Barnard Castle) he came to me, and, in the way as he rode with me, he entred to declare that he greatly misliked of all their doings and practyces, saying, that he was there amongst them for his fathers sake, and to accompany him, and, otherways, he never had been with them, (saying) he was sorry for his father; and, by his own speeches, did condemn all the doings of the said rebells."—*Bowes MS. vol. II, p.* 42, *Copy.* He was confined in the Tower some time afterwards; and was, probably pardoned, on composition.

George Norton, of Cleasby, fifth son. In a list of those who joined the rebels, from Cleasby, George Norton, gent. appears (with seven others). One of the eight was "doomed to die."—*Bowes MS. vol.* 13, *p.* 29.; yet, as the wealthy rebel could save his life by composition, it may be presumed that he did not suffer, although he was attainted. He is not named afterwards.

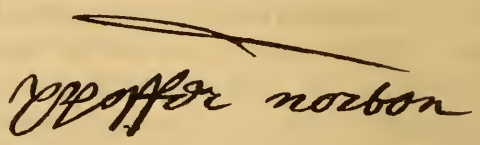
Thomas, sixth son, has been frequently confounded with his uncle Thomas, He was not implicated in the Rebellion.

"He said, come hither, Christopher Norton,
A gallant youth thou seemst to bee;
What doest thou counsell me, my sonne,
Now, that good Erle's in jeopardy."

Christopher Norton, seventh son, was arraigned on the 6th April, 1570, and pleaded guilty. In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Sir William Cecill, *(Cott. MS. Cal. C.* 1, 377*)* he makes a confession of what he knew respecting the Rebellion; from which it may be collected, that the Earl of Northumberland had been with his father, and made him privy to the dangerous position in which he stood, which grieved his father exceedingly, whose duty, as a Queen's officer, was to disclose what the Earl had told him; but the Earl reminded him that he had been a "sarvand" in his grandfather's house, and, that he confided in

him, as a man of honor, and his countryman;—his father, at length, promised to keep his counsel, but "not to be a partaker in it";—that his father wished himself beyond sea, as, he feared his religion would cost him his life; and they rode to Mr. Tempest's, at Holmside, with a view to engage shipping, at Newcastle. Shortly after their return home, they heard that the Earl of Northumberland's house was beset by the Lord President, and a great company: they, then, set out immediately, for Brancepath, thinking, by the help of Mr. Tempest, to escape over sea; but, there they found the Earls, and the gentlemen of the confederacy. Within two nights afterwards, Mr. Markenfield, Mr. Tempest, and Swinburn, rode away, an hour within eight o'clock, "it being darke," apparently to retire towards Scotland; but, within two hours afterwards, the Earls began to stir. "I wold a ventered my life to the contrary. By the way betwixt Dorham and Darnton cam Mr. Agramont Ratlef, and Tho. Geny, [and] Blaxton, which comfortyd the coman sorte; and the next day, in the monyng, came about one thousand fotmen and horsemen to the Earlls. Thayt day thaye to Rychemond, to store [stir] Rychmondshire, wheare the Earll of Northomerland staid thayt nygt, and Westmerland com backe to Darnton againe. They ij aponted to meet at Alarton, the next day, as they did; and so went forward, as your honores knoethe, tyll they came to Watherby, where they tornyed backe of a soden; at which tyme I toyld my father [th]at many did myslyke of it; who answered me, he trustyd to God we shold do well, if we wer abell to kepe together, fourteen daies, we shold have eade [aid] bothe of men and mone from beyond se, and as it was promysed. Also, Christopher Danby toyld me, ryding from Raby, the Imbasator, at London, hayd promysed to aid them with ather one hondryd southand crowns, or eles v hondryd southand; and, [th]at the Earles shold have hayd thame shortly after. Also, yt was reported, and thought, [th]at Lord Dakers, and the Lord Home, shold come to the Earles, when we shold come to Hexam. More than this, I cannot sartisfy your honores of, as I wyll answer afore God. If I could sartysfy your honores, of any thing at wold be plesure to the Quenes Magystye, or her realme, which I praye Almyte God, to presarve her hightnes and he

realme; also, I wold speake it, if I knowe well her Majestye wold have no pete [on] me, or eles, I pray God have no marse of me."



Superscribed,—"*To the ryght honerabel the Lord Keper, and to the right honerabell Sr Wyllm Sysell.*"

Indorsed,—"14 *Feb.* 1569, *Chrofer Norton's Confession.*"

He confessed the treasons imputed to him; and was executed at Tyburn, immediately after his uncle Thomas.

"After he had beheld the death of his uncle, as well his quartering as otherwise, knowing, and being well assured, that he himself must follow the same way, seemed to be very repentant." Being asked, "whether he had not offended God, and the Queen's Majesty, he made answer, that he had worthily deserved that death, and, therefore, besought God, and all men, to forgive him. And, further, he did, earnestly, exhort all men to take example by him, for committing the like. And, immediately, he did enquire whether any there did know one Philip Shurley, who now is captain in Scotland. There were some made answer, that they did know him. Then he declared that he was the cause of his death: nevertheless, he did forgive him; and, moreover, besought any who knew him, to let him understand it. This talk being ended," he desired the people to pray with him. "Being hanged a little while, and then cut down, the butcher opened him, and, as he took out his bowels, he cried, and said—'Oh, Lord, Lord, have mercy upon me!'" and so he yeilded up the ghost.—*Howell's State Trials.*

Marmaduke Norton, eighth son, who, also, pleaded guilty, was still a prisoner in the Tower, on the 14th July, 1572, "for the rebellion of the North."

He was, probably, pardoned on composition. He lived, and died, at Stranton, in the county of Durham; having married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of John Killinghall, Esq. by whom he had one surviving daughter, Jane; and, secondly, Frances,

daughter of Ralph Hedworth, of Pokerly, gent. widow of George Blakeston, of Seaton, gent., by whom he left three infant daughters, living 1594. He appears to have occupied himself with farming pursuits, and, by his will, dated 2nd Nov. 1594, he makes no allusion to any of the earlier events of his life: he leaves to his daughter, Jane, a stotte, called "paynted coat," another, called "smoot," and an ox, called "prowde look." He was buried at Stranton, 4 Nov, 1594.—*See Surtees, V.* 3, *p.* 125.

Sampson Norton, of Wath, ninth son, married Bridget, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Ralph Bulmer, knight, of Wilton, in Cleveland, who had one eight part of his tenements, &c. to the value of £34. per ann. She afterwards married ..... Layborne. From some law proceedings, in the Bowes papers, it would appear that Sir George Bowes purchased her portion for £980.; paying £240. and becoming bound to Sampson Norton for the remainder. These papers recite, that Sampson conspired on the 16th September, and entered into actual rebellion on the 14th November. He was at Mechlin, in 1571; and was a pensioner of the king of Spain. He died before the 17th Nov. 1574.

Richard, tenth, and Henry, eleventh son, are not named,—as being in any way connected with the Rebellion.

Of the daughters of "old" Norton, a paper in the Lansdown MSS. 27—Plut. 73, states, that one of them "married Lamburn, a rebell; and now to another that was a rebell; another daughter married Johnson, and another married Gascoigne, a rebell." According to the pedigree (*Surtees, Vol. I. Appendix* 161)—

Mary, married ..... Greene, of Newby, (both John and Henry Green, of Newby, were prisoners in Durham Jail,—*p.* 128) and she afterwards married John Lamborne.

Anne, married Robert Byrnand, of Knaresborough.

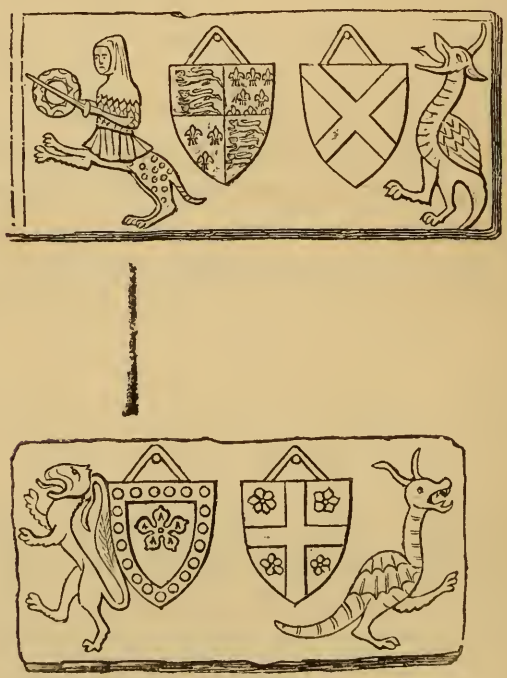
Clare, married Richard Goodricke, of Ribston, co. York.

Jane, married Richard Gascoigne, son of Sir Henry Gascoigne, of Sedbury—who is regarded with suspicion on account of his wife.—(*p.* 282.)

Katherine, married Francis Bulmer, of Tursdale, co. Durham, esq. whose son and heir, Anthony, was a prisoner (*p.* 128).

Joane, married Gerard Salvin, of Croxdale, co. Durham, esq. He, together with his son, Gerard, were imprisoned in 1569. (*p.* 128.)

And, Elizabeth, married Henry Johnson, son and heir of Sir Thomas Johnson, of Walton, co. York, esq. who narrowly escaped execution (*p.* 226).



Charles Neville
Earl of Westmerland.

" Lord Westmorland his ancyent raisde,
The dun bull he rays'd on hye;
And three dogs with golden collars
Were there sett out most royallye."

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

Charles Neville, sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland, (of the noble house of Neville) was the eldest son of Henry, fifth Earl of Westmoreland, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Rutland.

His father held the post of Warden of the West Marches, for many years; and his letters prove that he was "a sensible and well-educated, as well as a brave man."—*Lodge, Vol. I. p.* 244. He died in 1563. Shortly afterwards, his successor, Charles, is mentioned (Aug. 18, 1565) with commendation, by the Earl of Bedford, who met him at Morpeth, with Lord Scrope, Lord Eury, and others, on business connected with the borders. "My lord of Westmerlande and the rest were so honourable and so forward for that service as could be devised."—*Cott. MS. Cal. B. x. f.* 331.

He married Jane, daughter of the unfortunate Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and sister to the Duke of Norfolk; and it would seem probable, and natural, that his connexion with the family of Howard, and the affection and friendship which he ever bore towards the "good Duke," his brother in law, would incline him to regard, with complacency and favor, the perilous enterprise in which he had engaged, of marrying the Queen of Scots; which led, eventually, to the rebellion, and to the destruction of the house of Neville.

His inclinations and pursuits appear to have been affected to the sports of the field; and, although he inherited the noble blood, he does not appear to have possessed any of the lofty bearing and chivalrous emprise which distinguished the name of Neville.

He lived on terms of the most friendly intercourse with Sir George Bowes, to whom he writes, in 1568—

"I recommende me hartely to you, and have sent you herewith a letter from the Dukes grace, which he prayed me to convey to you, who hath also spoken to me that my man might take the hawkes which [you] doo gyve him, and keape the same till they be redy to sende him, which I must then see conveyed as I dyd the last he had there. And thus, with my commendacons unto my Lady, trusting sone to see you and hir, I bid you hartely farewell. From London, the ijde of July, 1568.

Your loving freinde, and assured to hys power,

C. WESTMERLAND."

Orig. Bowes MS. v 3. *p.* 3.

In the same year he borrows eighty pounds* of Sir George, to whom he gives an acknowledgment, dated 9th Dec. in which

* His debts and difficulties are distinctly alluded to in a political pamphlet of the day, (*Norton's Warning*) whose statements, however, must be received with due caution,—

"The other, of no credite, no wisdome, nor governance—no abilitie—no vertue. Who knoweth not the enormities of his lyfe, the indiscretion of ruling his owne, the great lackes and debts wherein he isby his owne faulte, endaungered; the estimation of hym as of a contemned man; none otherwyse regarded than for the names sake of honor, and some possibilitie that he might perhappes leave a better sonne to amend the state of his house? Thoughe hys father were touched wyth many great faults, much noted in the world, some whereof this gentleman hath, as by inheritaunce receyved; yet never did he so hurtfull a deed, either to the common weale, or to his owne name and familie, as when he begatte so ungracious a sonne. Even he that never governed well himselfe, nor anything that he hath, whom no wise man nor, I'thinke, any of you (as madde as ye be) would privately trust with ordering of a mean housholde, now must take in publike charge the power o

he is joined by Sir William Bellassys, of Newbroughe, knight, and Roger Ratcliffe, of Mowgrave, gent.—*Bowes MS. v.* 11, *p.*2.

On the 17th May, 1569, he and Sir George Bowes, as commissioners under the great seal, attended the musters, taken upon Hamilton Hills, of all the inhabitants of the wapentake of "Langbarughe," from the age of sixteen and upwards; so that, up to this period, he appears to have been loyal to his sovereign, and to have lived, not only free from suspicion, but in the occasional exercise of an office of trust and importance.

He was at Brancepath in September, 1569; and, it may be presumed, that he maintained the antient hospitality of his house; for Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, from Newcastle, 7th Sep. 1569, that, having finished his warden court, at Alnwick, "I rode to my Lord of Westmerland, too be mery, wher, by the way, yn vewyng of Durham Minster, I receyved your packet."—*S. P.*

He failed to meet Sir George Bowes, at a hunting appointment; (*p.* 3) yet he attended the Lord President's summons, in October, (*p.* 5) and declared, "vehemently," that he would venture his life to suppress any commotions.

On being again required to attend, together with the Earl of Northumberland, at York, they declined doing so; and their refusal is communicated to Cecil, by the Earl of Sussex, 4th Nov. —"I receyved, this nyght, letters from the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, requyring, with very good and dutiful words, to have their comyng hether, at this tyme, excused (if it so might be) in respect of the earnest busynes that they have about their own causes, at this present time; and, for that the words of ther letters shew an entent of ther comyng, if they may not be excused, I presently depeched a pursuyvant, with other letters to ether of them, the copie whereof I send unto you

a shiere or two, yea, of all the realme, if the rest would adventure as madly as you. For the case of religion: doth any man knowe that ever he pretended any religion or conscience at all, till now hee maketh an apishe counterfaityng of fayned popishe devotion? And now yet, by your good judgement, hee that knoweth neither religion, faith, nor learnyng, must come to comptroll the iudgement, learning, and faith, of the Queenes majestie, her counsell and all her clergie."

Addressed—"To the Quenes majesties poore deceived subiectes of the North Countre drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland.

Written by Thomas Norton, and newly perused and encreased."

enclosed; upon answer whereof, which I look for the third day, I shall advertise more resolutely than yet I can; and, in the meane tyme, thought fett to wryte thus much presently to enforme you of that hath passed hitherto."

The Earl of Westmoreland's reply is dated at Brancepath, on the seventh of November, and shews that his allegiance was already wavering:—

"To deale plainely with your lordship, I ame not ignorant what false rumor, and moste untrewe tailes are surmised and spred abrode of me, and what evill reports the Bishop of Duresme and others have made of me, and this contrie (without cause, I take God to recorde) at London, whereupon, as I am credibly informed, the Quenes majestie hath conceyved displesure against me. And yet, I can not think the bishop hath this done of himself, for that I never gave him occasion, but rather by the procurement of others, who have done the lyke, bothe to the counsell above, and to the counsell ther, only of envy and an ambitious mynde to rule; thinking (as their progenitors have done) that my ancestors and I have bene ther lett, and therefore wishe the overthrow and decaye of me and my house. Which things considered, I dare not adventure myself to come unto you, where I knowe of my enemys to be, onless I should come with such a companie for the saftie of my persone, as, I feare, I wolde be mislyked of, and peradventure otherwyse enterpreted upon then my meaning and intention is; and therefore, my dutie and allegiance reserved, I have thought it more mete to staye at home, where, God willing, I meane to use myselfe as an humble obedient subject and faithful servant, to the Quenes majestie, rather than by comyng with a nomber, to give anie occasion of offence."—*Copy, S. P.*

On the receipt of the above, and a letter of excuse from the Earl of Northumberland, the council was assembled, and Sussex writes to Cecil, on the 8th,—"I am indeed in feare they will in like sort forgett their duties when they shall be commanded to repair to the Quenes majestie; and, for that it is like her majestie will have them chastised as they shall deserve."—*S.P.* And, to the Queen he writes—"It may please your moste excellent Majestie; I receyved, this morning, letters from the Erles of Northumber-

lande and Westmerlande; whereapon, calling together your counsell, now here, viz.—Mr. Deane of Yorke, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir Henry Gate, Mr. Rookesby, and Mr. Vaughan; we all conceyved upon the good consydering of the letters, that the one dyrectly refused to come, and the other more covertly seemed to deferr his commyng. And therefore, perceyving, as well by the reporte of the pursuyvant that went with the letters, that he colde receyve no answer of ether of them, untell the Erles had met together at Bransbaye; where also olde Norton the Shreif, and Martenfield then were; as also by other circumstances, that they be at this present, both apon one councell; and that there entent is not in dede to come hether, we resolved that I shoulde presentlye advertise your Majestie herof, and therwith to send the coppies of both letters, which herewith your Majestie shall receyve.

I entend also, by there advyses, to wryte to the Erles, tomorrowe, your Majesties commandement, for there repaire unto your Corte, according to th effect of your letters.

I do certenlye feare that seing they have geven this answer, they will not repaire to your Majestie; and considering the sequell herof, I fynde but these two wayes in th ende,—eyther that your Majestie should, apon there submission, forgyve that is paste, and call them home to your favor; or with force porsewe them; and so ether take them, or drive them owte of the realme.

It shold appere, by all the intelligence I can gett, that they entende not to sturr present rebellion, but rather for feare to withrawe themselves for theire defence, if anie force be offered against them; so as I trust there shall be no actuall rebellion, before the returne of your Majesties pleasure.

It maye also please your Majestie to appoint new Shreifes in all those partes, whose truthe your selfe knowethe by proofe.

In the meane tyme, untell your pleasure be signifyed, I will, withe the advyse of your counsell here, consider what numbers of horsemen and fotemen shal be fit to be levyed for this service, &c.

God preserve your Majestie in long lyfe and prosperous rayne, and send all that wolde the contrarye, shame and shorte lyfe. From Yorke, the 8th of November, 1569."—*Orig. S. P.*

Until the 12th November, Sir George Bowes thinks the Earls are not "determyned of any open actyon"; but the armed invasion of Durham, so strangely produced by the ungovernable impatience of their reckless friends (if full credit may be given to the Earl of Northumberland's narration) "cut short all intermission," and plunged them into the abyss of a hopeless rebellion.

On the Queen's command being communicated to the Earl of Westmoreland, for his instant repair to Court, which was, unfortunately, not delivered until he had committed himself "beyond redemption"; he writes to the Earl of Sussex:—

"My Lord,—I ame sorie that my happe is so harde that I can not obey the Quenes Majesties letter, in coming up to her presence, with howe greate a grefe it is to my harte, God knows, who ever loved her, and will do during lyfe, never meninge anie thing prejudiciall to her Majesties person, but have bene, and ever wil be, her faithfull and trewe subiecte. Althoughe I be nowe forced to thes extremities, contrarie to her plesure and your counsell, to remaine here, seking to strengthen myself against the malice of myne enemies, which daily seke my destruction; for which cause I am compelled to gather my frends by anie meanes I thinke woulde beste serve my torne; nevertheless mayning faithfully to her highnes, althoughe I knowe it shall be otherways taken. If the Quenes Majesties letters had come before this day, I had been more clere from offence then nowe I ame; because my going to Duresme hathe made the pepell which I have bene the stay of, all this whyle, till I feared to have bene plukt out of my howse; which ununlawful means I never ment to yelde to, rather chosing to dye, then thus cruelly to have bene sent up. But, if her Majestie had, before this extremytye, preparyd for me, I would willingly have obeyed, but not to avoyde those dangers I have presumed so far, as I dare not venture to kome in [her] Majesties presence. But, good, my lord, for the frendship sake before tyme profeste, cease not to be a frende for me to her Majestie, though I look you wil be otherwyse. Thus wyshing you much honor and health, and trusting you will advertise her Majestie of this my excuse, I will make an ende. From Brancepeth, xiiij of November, 1569."—*S. P.*

The advance and retreat of the rebel army has been already related. On their return to the county of Durham, the Earl of Westmoreland appears to have superintended the seige of Barnard Castle, and was present at its surrender. On the advance of the Earl of Sussex he fled with the horsemen ; and, on the border, he was obliged to change his coat and sword with Jock o' the Side, to escape particular notice (*p.* 115).

He was kindly received by the laird of Farnihurst (Sir Thomas Ker) who screened him from the pursuit of the Regent. He was visited there by his unworthy kinsman, Robert Constable (*Sadler, v.* 2, *p.* 110) who endeavoured to gain his confidence, for the purpose of betraying him ; and, on whose representation of the disgrace that he had brought on his house, which, he said, had "been honorable, and of great antiquity, and never spotted till now ;" the Earl's tears flowed abundantly, and he confided his hopes and sorrows to the bosom of his treacherous relative —who advised him to come to his house, when all was quiet— which would have been the consummation of Constable's villany.

The Earl gave him a ring from his finger, to present to the Countess, as a token ; and to will her "to take no care nor thought for him, for all his care was for hir and his children ;" and that he hoped, by God's grace, to recover the Queen's favor ; and desiring her to send one of her best jewels to Lady Ker; and the fairest gelding she could procure, to the laird, as a return for the charges he had put them to. The events which followed prevented the Earl from accepting his kinsman's hospitality, who confesses that he is engaged in a traiterous kind of service —"to trap them that trust in him, as Judas did Christ."

On an application from the Countess of Westmoreland, the Earl of Sussex forwarded the following letter to her husband, expecting however that "little fruet will come thereof" (*p.* 145) :—

"My Lord,—I thought I could not dyscharge my part and dewty towards you, tyll I had sued for leve to send you thes fewe lynes, wheryn I myght put you in remembrance of that to which, of yourself, you were always well inclined ; had not the greatnes of your offence to the Quenes Majestie bene such as

both abashe you to come to her royal presence, and also made you utterly despayr ever to obtayn her pardon. I wysh you, most earnestly, good, my lord, (as I know, and am fully perswadyd you wyll submytt yourself) to do yt wyth sped and wythout delaye, to crave her most gracyous pardon; lest your necessity, and want of relefe, be such as you shal be forcyd, beyng in a forayn land, to stand in nede of ther succour and ayde, of whom perhapps you shall receyve no benefytt wythout incurring a farder danger; I mene in entryng some such practyse, as not only may aggravat her Majesties displesure, but also cutt of all hope for ever [of] recoveryng her favour. Therefore, good, my lord, in tyme perform your bounden duty to her Majestie, and also forgett nott the care that, in conscience, you ought to have, of me and your poore chyldren; which are now desolat and voyd of all helpe, wythout the merciful clemency and goodnes of the Quenes Majestie; to which, as I have often hard you say, she was naturally given and disposyd. So, do not fere, though your faut and offence be very great, that her inclinacion can be so sodaynly transformyd, but that, upon your humble submyssion, and repentant mynd, you shall fynd her accustomyd pyty and mercy to remayn; trustyng that she wyll consyder, as you have past a fewe wekes in offendyng her Majestie, so have you, I hope, many yeres to passe to do her servyce; wheryn, I think, you would wyllyngly venter your lyfe. As sone as I receve answer from your lordship, I wyll not omytt the deuty of a treu wyfe towardes you, in beyng a humble suter to her Majestie for your lyfe, landes, and lyberty; whych I besech God put in her hart sone to graunt, that I, to my great comfort, may se your joyfull retorn, and that her Majestie may once, by employing your servyces, in some manner fynd her self the treu fayth in you towards her, by effect; whych, for your late offence, I fere, she wyll yett hardly beleeve.

God, of his mercy, preserve you, in helthe, and bryng you, shortly, to a more safe and quiet estate."—*Copy, S. P.*

This letter was conveyed to the Earl by Sir John Forster, whose servant received the following reply:—

"Wife,—I have received your letter, this present Tuesday, whiche I marvell not a lytle of, that you, knowing my minde

and good will, besids duty, so well bent towards the Quene, as alwayes I have bene, and will still remaine, till death; that you do write after this earnest manner unto me, as though I shold bothe forget my duty towards the Quenes Majestie, which I, in harte, never will do; and also, you and my children, whom, hetherto, I have given no such [cause] to write to me after this manner: for which way hath it [been] possible for me to have sent to you before this tyme. But now, that I may send unto you, at this present, I praye you deale first with the advise of my Lord of Sussex, my Lord of Rutland, my Lord of Hunsdon, and Sir John Forster, to knowe which way they shall think it best for me to mak my humble submission to the Qu. Majestie. For, as for me, though that mine offence hath ben great in breaking the lawes of the realme, yet it hath not been so heynous towards her owne person; but, and if it shall please her Majestie to be graciouse unto me, I trust in God, I might be hable to do her service in any place in the worlde, where she shall comand me, to recompence this fault withal.

Therefore, I pray you, deale with my Lo. of Sussex, and the rest, if any of them be ther; that I may both knowe ther good wills towards me, and also, that I may receive worde from you and them againe, betwixt this and the last of this month; or ells, after that day, God knoweth what shall become of me; for, here will be no longer byding for me, for diverse respects, which I dare not writ unto you at this tyme.

So, fare you well.—Your assured husband—

C. WESTMERLAND.

I pray you comend me to Yotwinkes* and all her little ones.

To his assured wife—Jane Westmerland—give these."—*Copy, S. P.*

The Earl was strongly suspected to have remained concealed about Brancepath, for some time after the Rebellion; and also, to have been present at several inroads on the English border.

* There is a certain tone of harshness in this letter, which contrasts singularly with the affectionate style of the Countess. He was naturally aware that his letter would be subject to scrutiny;—but the postscript is addressed exclusively to the affections of his wife—by his commendation to "Yotwinkes," and all her little ones. The same expression occurs in his letter to Lady Scrope, (*p.* 167) where the word "wife" has been erased, and "twinkes" substituted,—evidently a term of affectionate endearment.

He is said to have been at the convention of Leith, and to have "sat yn cownsell wyth the rest of the lords." In the autumn of 1570, he embarked at Aberdeen, and, shortly afterwards, arrived in Flanders. The Duke of Alva writes to King Philip, that the Earl had escaped, but with very slight means; and recommends his case to the King, in consideration of his quality;* and, in February following, a pension is granted to him of fifty crowns per month, (*14th Feb.* 1570-1, *Duke's letter.*

The Earl was very anxious to obtain a pardon; and John Fitzwilliam writes to Cecil from Antwerp, 27 Jan. 1570-1,—"Yf my L. of Westmerland be seure of your honors frendshipe, he wolde be a suitor for the Quenes Majesties moste gratious pardon, withe as muche humilitye as may be, and tourne to be a trew and obedyent subiecte;—he hath a grete good opynyon of your honor, and acknolegethe your honore to have byn alwaies his frende, before this his offence, whereof, nowe, he muche repentethe."—*Galba, c. IV.*

On the 27th March following, the Earl writes to his brother-in-law, Sir William Pelham, from Antwerp:—

"Brother Pellam,—Thes shal be to lett you understand, that, for the great good wyll I have (my dewtye requiring no lesse) to obteyne the Quenes Majestes moste gratious favour, by all honorable meane possyble that lyes in me to doo; and beinge voyde of a faythful frende, to ayde and assyste me towardes the effectinge thereof; these shal be to desyer you, if you shall be moved therunto by any of the Quenes Majesties counsell (as I truste you shal be) that you wyll vouchsafe to come over hether, and to confer with me of summe pointes, which shall not onely tend to the princes safetye, and to the further advancynge of your credit and my honor, if I be not (as I have hetherto bene altogether infortunate).....If you refuse me (as my trust is,

* "Le Conte de Westmorlant est aussi icy, en grande payne pour s'estre saulve avecq bien peu de moyen. En est personnaige de telle qualite qu' il merite respect, mais comme le moyen est par deça si petit, est ne scay l'intention de vostre majeste, je la supplie tres humblement comme, j'ai fait du passe qu'elle me veulle advertir comme elle entend que a l'advenir je m'y doibve regler, et s'il luy plaist faire quelque bien principalement, a gens de telle ou aultre principale estoffe, qu'elle soit contente de le pourveoir de dela, puisque de ce costel icy, nous n'avons assez pour furnir seulement l'ordinaire."—*Duke of Alva to King Philip, 7th Nov.* 1570.

you will not.) I shall thinke myselfe voyde of any frende or kinsman in that lande, as knoweth the Almightie God, who preserve you and my syster, with your chyldren, to his pleasures.

From Anvers, this xxvij of March, 1571, your assured brother, to his small power, and good harte.

C. WESTMERLAND.

Brother, as my truste is in you, deale secretly in thys matter, or I doo nothinge at all, nether mistrust the noblemans secresye that sall deale with you, nor yeat the conveyer of my letter." —*S. P.*

In the examination of Henry Sympson,* 21 Oct. 1571, (who had returned from Flanders,) before Sir Thomas Gargrave, he says—the Earl of Westmerland was living at Louvain, and "kepith a good house, and hath forty or fifty that come to meate with him, but there is not of his own livery, that be household servants, past twelve or thirteen."

On the 4th of May, 1572, he writes to Lord Burleigh,—"My vearye good Lord—as I can but render unto your Lo. my moste hartye thankes, for that it hath plesed you to travel towardes the helpinge of my myserye, soo lykewyse I can but sorrowe and lament that tyme and other lets doo dyshable you to doo me that good which I would gladlye wysh. Nevertheless, this shal be to desyre your Lo. to continewe my goode Lo. to the Quenes Majestie, thoughe I doo finde the entrye of my sute vearye harde; and, as touching the other too pointes of your letter, written unto Lee, as sone as he shal be recovered, for that I finde hym not in case now to deale with me, I shall discharge myselfe of that that I am able to saye. I beseche your Lo.

* In his confession, he states himself to be a native of Darlington, twenty-eight years of age; and, that, he had served as a soldier under Captain Sanders, at Newhaven, (Havre) who had married his aunt; and, that, when the town was given up he was suffering under the plague,—that he now wants to get a place at Newcastle or York as a hat-maker,—that his wife is a French woman, and her mother lives at Valencia,—that he was sometimes in the company of the earl of Westmoreland and other rebels, and heard the Earl say, at supper, that "yf the lord Keper and Mr. Secretary were put away from the Queen, he shold have frends anough in England;"—he heard divers say, that the Queen did much favour the earl of Leicester, but they trusted to make "hym and his bloode lowe." He heard the English, now at Lovyne, often "wishe that the Erle of Westmerland had *taken Sir George Bowes at the firste*, and kepte hyme styll, for then they might have gone and taken York, and then all England wold have taken ther partes."—On being pressed to state who carried letters from the Earl to Lady Westmorland, and the Earl of Derby; he says, that Stansall told him the messenger was one Henry Ridley,—that one Sherwood, a priest, of Durham, sent home young Trollop, sick of the falling sickness.

accept in good part my most hartye thankes, for that I doo perceave it maye be leaful for my frendes to releave me, wherof I pray you, my wyfe or my suster Pellam, maye be given to understande; leaste I shoulde be constrained to entangle myself, which hetherto I have not doen. Thus, having no more to trouble you withall, untyll I receve your Lo. answer, which I moste earnestly crave, I leave you to the Almyghty God: assuringe your Lo. that if others might take that advantage of you as I think, and partlye know, you might knowe of them; I fear you should be more annoyed than you will annoye. Thus desiringe you that thys hereafter may not be to my dyscredit but your Lo. most hartelie well to fare. From Anvers, your Lo. in good wyll that I may.—*S. P*

In 1574, some negotiations were in progress for his return, —as appears by the following extract of a letter from the Queen of Scots to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, dated 4th of August,—"To the English, and more especially to the Earl of Westmoreland, you will communicate my good intentions when I shall have the power; [alluding to the means in France] and with regard to his appointment, I should be very glad that he had it, provided that two things were secured—the one his safety, of which I entertain doubts, because the remainder of those who are of his religion, and who are better supported than he would be, are beginning to withdraw, as you will hear is the case with Oxford.* In short, it is not easy for a good catholick to continue here, without danger of his life, or of what is still dearer to him—his conscience. Thus, informing you of the offers which have been made to him, I shall, in my first dispatch, state what I may hereafter discover. Certainly, I will not advise him to refuse a good offer, if it occurs, but I would admonish him, in accepting it, that he takes good care not to injure the service of God, his friends, and his reputation; and not to be certain of his life, except on dishonourable conditions." She then directs a sum to be paid to Westmoreland, (the amount of which is not named).†

* The Earl of Oxford was a catholic, who, through fear, obtained permission to travel.

† This, and the following extracts from letters of Mary Queen of Scotts, are from the originals in Cipher.—communicated by Dr. Lingard.—*Penes Rev. Dr. K.*

Soon afterwards, the Earl writes to his wife; but his hopes of pardon do not appear sanguine:—

"My good wyfe and dearest beloved creature,—You revive, by your letters, the remembrance of my long-endured evil, by exile from my Countre, wherebye you saye I am subject to all slanderous reportes and perills. I confesse I feale the smart therof, and therfore arme myselfe agaynst the worste; not expecting better tyll it shall please God soo to qualifie the Quenes Majesties harte, as she maye thinke me worthy so muche of her favor as I maie be admitted to live and die under her protection, in that soyle that nature hathe soo manie wayes made sweet unto me; as no condition elsewhere can equall the leaste of those comfortes I might enjoy there, and to recover her Majesties assured favour. I could be contente to remaine a prisoner all my life, in any place [it] shoulde please her to appointe, where I may enjoye her favour, your presence, and my countrye, with such condition onely as in conscience and honor I am bounde to regarde before my lyfe.—Louvaine, ix Sep. 1574.

Dr. Thomas Wilson, who was employed to watch the rebels (and who was afterwards rewarded with the deanery of Durham) writes from Antwerp, 27 Dec. 1574, to Lord Burghley, that the Earl of Westmoreland had sent a message to him, but that he had "refused to deale with him or any suche, without commission,"..."he myneth to write a letter to your Lordship, which if I receive, I will send."

On 10th January following, he writes, that he has heard the rebels were paid their pensions at Bruxelles—the Earl for four months, and all the rest for three—and adds, that he has "offred larglie to one that will deale with a rebel to undermine ther doings";—that Chamberlayne's brother, of Wodstoke, and Lyggons are the chief counsellors to the Earl, who said to the Countess (of Northumberland) "that he did send to me, but onelie to know how faithful my mistress and I are to the king of Spain; which he saithe is but little, for that I do nothing but seek out to know of what force the king is here."

On the 20th of February, 1566, Queen Mary states to her ambassador, that she has "written fully to the Earl of Westmoreland, on all those subjects on which he has written to me

heretofore, and even on his return to this country. Desire him to pay you the hundred crowns which you have lent him, by my treasurer; but I wish you to have a little consideration towards the others, as well the English as the Scotch, for neither will your means or mine be sufficient." (She then desires four thousand francs may be divided between Westmoreland, Ligons, and Monceaux, but to keep it very secret, lest the Scots should be jealous).

In 1577, the Earl having complained of the neglect of the Queen of Scotts, she directs her ambassador to speak to the Spanish ambassador in his favor; and proceeds (25th March) —"I esteem and honor his good will, and will not neglect whatever may be in my power; which let him understand from me, assisting him if necessary with two or three hundred crowns."

In the same year Sir F. Walsingham writes to Sir Henry Sydney, that the Queen (Elizabeth) "being advertized, from her ambassador resident in France, that the Earl of Westmoreland should be privately repayred into Ireland about some practice; and thoughe she fyndeth yt a matter unlykely, yet her pleasure is, that your Lordship should, in some secret sort, use some apt instruments in the discoverye whether he be there or not, and in case he be ther, to seke all the wayes you may for the apprehension of him."—20th July, 1577.—*Collins, Sydney Papers, p.* 200.

Shortly afterwards he was at Maestricht.* In 1579, he writes to the Earl of Leicester:—"My vearye good lord—whereas I wrote a letter unto my brother Pellam, with whome I woulde have conferred by wourde of mouthe onelye, as touchinge my submyssion unto the Quenes Majestie, for that I am an yll penman. I understande, by a letter wrytten from my Lo. Bourley, to her who hath made me privy thereunto, the Quenes Majestie, by no means, wyll graunte therunto, which greveth me not a lytle, notwithstandinge I doo most wyllingley obeye her

* "The two Morleys was lately at Anwarpe and is gone to Mastryke in companie of the Earl. Don John hath secretly charged all rebels and fugitives to absent themselves, but, yet, he giveth order for their pensions. I was earnest enough with hm. but I could not anger hym; he telleth me they are all banyshed, and he will make none accounte of any that is not faithful to the Quenes Majestie, whom he professeth to honor in such a faithful manner, as, before God, I do not believe him."—Brussels, 10 March, 1577.—Dr. Wilson to Lord Burghley.—*S. P.*

Majesties pleasure, as my dewtye requireth what soo ever wyse is thought of me: besechinge your Lo. to stand my good Lo. in thys my banyshment, and to forget all private respectes that hath passed betwene us heretofore: and so ayde me wyth your Lo. furtherance towardes the opteninge of the Quenes Majesties favor to the restoringe againe of my decayed howse; wherebye you shall binde me and myne alwayes to be yours, and I assure your Lo. ther withall that if it woulde please her Majestie to pardon thys my former youthe, I shall not onlye remaine her loiall and dewtiful subiectt for ever, but also, I trust, within fewe yeares, by servyce to recompense my errours past.

Thus, desiringe your Lo. to deall soo favorably with me, as that I may be advertysed by your letters, whyther your Lo. wyll stande my good Lord herein, or no; for, if your Lo. shoulde refuse me herein, as I truste you wyll not, I doo greatlye dyspare of the good success of my sute, as knoweth the Almightie God, unto whose tuition I leave you.

From Anvers, thys iiij of Maye, 1579, youre Lo. assured in hys small power.

C. WESTMERLAND."

Orig. Cott. M. S.—Vesp. C. xiv. 243.

On the 22nd of March, 1581, his name appears amongst the pilgrims at Rome, in the records of the English college there.—*Collect. Topog. p.* 79, 1837.

In 1593,* the Countess of Westmoreland died.

In the "*Estate of the English Fugitives,*" (1595) which, being written with an evident party purpose must be received with due caution, it is stated, that the Earl had the command of a regiment of English men, and was at the "seige of Dermounde"; and he is said to have been concerned in various brawls, and to have been suspended from the command by the Duke of Parma. He was evidently treated with neglect, and only regarded, with consideration as a person whose influence might be useful in the frequently contemplated invasions of England.

* In this year, one Diaper gives an unfavourable account of the Earl's morallty, in Flanders; and says, that—"he kepeth daily company with Sir Timothy Mocket; whose life and behaviour is either as bad, or worse than my Lord's."—*Strype, Vol.* 4, *p.* 164.

In 1600, when his advanced age rendered him unfit for such an enterprise, a spy writes, that—"The Earl of Westmoreland beginneth to pursue again his sute for Richardots daughter, and Richardot (as is said) standethe upon this—that he procure 200 crowns a month, pension, more than he hath alredie, which he will have, to be assured of his daughter, which, (if he get yt) must be had from the King.—Bruxelles, 15 Oct. 1600."—*S. P.* In the following year he was released from all earthly trouble, as appears by the following letter, written by a spy dated the 20th Nov. 1601.—"Th Erle of Westmerland fell sick here, at the campe, above three weeks agone; from whence he was caryed in a coach to Newport, and there continued sick till the 16 of this month, and then died.* What benefit his heirs may reape by his lands in England, I knowe not; but I thinke his executors shall get little by his goods here, dienge in as many mens debt as he could borrowe monye of; and to the King that he had gotten beeforhand, of his entertaynment, which, as you know, was 200 crownes a month."—*S. P.*

Thus perished on a foreign shore, after an absence of thirty years from his native land, subjected to every species of contumely and privation, and living on the precarious bounty of strangers—the last Earl of Westmoreland, of the noble house of Neville. And now, (says *Surtees*) "of all this stately branching cedar, whose boughs shadowed the land, the house of Abergavenny, not distinguished in modern peerage either by superior titles or splendid fortunes—alone remains." Cambden, in noticing his death, (which he has placed under 1584, *Hist. Elizabeth, p.* 304) says, "From this family, fruitfull in nobility, there sprung (besides six Earls of Westmorland) two Earls of Salisbury and Warwick; an Earl of Kent; a Marquess Montacute; a Duke of Bedford; a Baron Ferrers, of Ousely; Barons Latimers; Barons Abergavenny; one Queen; five Dutchesses: to omit Countesses and Baronesses; an Archbishop of York; and a great number of inferiour gentlemen."

* Of so little moment was the Earl's death, that Winwood, in a letter from Paris, Dec. 1, 1601, O. S. mentions the fact to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, without comment, and simply says, "The Earle of Westmoreland is lately dead at Newport."—*Winwood's Memorials, v.* I, *p.* 364.

THE
COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND.

Jane, Countess of Westmoreland, was the eldest daughter of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, (the poet) beheaded in 1547, at the age of twenty-nine ; and sister to the Duke of Norfolk, who died on the scaffold, 2nd June, 1572.

When her father was confined in the Tower, his children were placed under the charge of the Duchess of Richmond, their aunt, to be brought up and educated ; and Fox (the martyrologist) their instructor, bears honorable testimony to the talents and abilities of the Countess. The young Lady Jane (he says) profited so wonderously in the Greek and Latin tongues, " that she might well stand in competition with the most learned of that time, for the praise of elegancy in both kinds." And she is described as being one of the most learned ladies of a learned age ; when knowledge, as well as virtue, was deemed essential to the female character.

"This ingenious lady made such a surprizing progress in the Latin and Greek tongue, under the tuition of Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, that we are assured by Mr. Samuel Fox, in the life of his father, that her skill in those languages was such, that she might well stand in competition with the greatest men of that age. The latter part of her life was rendered very unhappy, by the indiscretion of her husband, who, being forgetful of his duty to his Prince, engaged in an insurrection in the North, An. 1569."—*Ballard's Learned Ladies.*

When the Earl of Westmoreland was at Farnihurst, Robert Constable, received a ring from him (*p.* 295); with which sure passport to the presence of the Countess, he went to Brancepath; and, after several delays, she, at length, received him.

He says (*Sadler*, *v.* 2, *p.* 135)—"After I had dyssyered hyr faythfull and honorable promes, to keyp secret that I had to say unto hyr, for that yt towched meyn lyff; she gave hyr hand and fayth so to doo. I kyssed my lords ryng, and gave it to hyr. She was passyng joyefull. I towld hyr how long I had wated to come to hyr speyche. She excused hyr, and not the les asked me forgyvenes dyvers tymes; and, after she had enquered all thyngs of my lord, and that I had towld all my messedges, she towld me that Sir John Constable had beyn with hyr from my lord levetenand, and wylled hyr to write to my lord, hyr husband, to perswayd hym to mayk his humeble submyssion to the queyn majestye, &c.; as she dorst do none other, but dellyvered yt to Sir John unsealed. She dyssyred me to pray my lord, not to be offended for hyr so doyng, howbeyt she thoght yt hyr best so to doo, both to wyn agayn the favor of God, of hys natyve prynce, and all hys land and guds agayn, which otherways were utterly lost, without hope of recovery, and that, before God, she thoght he cowld not les doo. With sych further enstroktyons by word of mouth, for me to say to my lord, as ys to long for me to wryte, whereyn she hayth shewd hyrself to be the faythful servand of God, a dewtyfull subject to the queyns majesty, an obedyent carfull lovyng wyff to hyr husband, and, for rypeness of wytt, rydenes of memmory, and playn and pythy uttrans of hyr words, I have talked with manny, but never with hyr lyke."

She left Brancepath soon afterwards; and applied to Sir William Cecil to solicit an audience of the Queen :—

Right honorable—I beseche you beare with my importunitye, and let yt not offend you, that I earnestly crave your goodness to be a sutor for me to the Quenes Majestie, to give me leave to come to her royall presence, whiche, altho my Lo. doings have bene suche as they moche abashe me so to do, yet myne owne innocencie, and the great desier I have to doo my humble dutie to hir highness, something imboldeneth me to contynew this my suyt; trusting muche to your frendshipp and good helpe to optyne the same, otherwise yt wold be a greater griff unto me then all other miseries. Thus, besyching you to tack petie of my miserable and infortinate estate, I cease to trouble you. At Haward's House, the xxiij of March, 1569 [70].—Your most humble suter. J. WESTMERLAND.

Orig. Lansdown MS. 12, *No.* 26.

The following letter to Lord Burghley, (considerably injured by fire in 1731) must certainly refer to the disclosures made by the Earl of Northumberland at Berwick, in which her name is implicated, as having instigated her husband to take a prominent part in the rebellion.

" If among the hepes of my calamytys ther hath appered any sparke of better fortune w[hych] may kepe lyfe in a restles body, almost consumyd wyth continewall lamentyng, or in so greate decaye of worldly frendshyp any staye left unto me whereon I may repose my [self] and aflicted state; surely yt hath only proceded of the comfort whych I conceyved by ..... Dyears late advertisement, wherby I was not only assured of your Lo. noble and pitiful dis[position], but also, upon the consideracion of my present state, put in hope of your greter favour, mis[doubting] nothyng but the innocency of my cause shal appere to be suche, as your Lo. shal rather find occasion to increse your goodnes, then any offence to kindle her Majestys indignacion. And yet must I nedes confesse the weyght of the cryme I am chargyd wyth, and the creditt of my accuser in respect of hys degre, albeit disablyd in lawe, beyng well considered that fewe in myne estate have tastyd so great clemency as to be respited without troble tyll ther cause myght be clered

by tryall, the grownd and spring whereof as I holly referr to the unspekable mercy of our gracious Quene, so were I a very ingratfull person if I should forgett your Lo. favo[rable] intercession in the beginnyng of this storme, humbly requiryng the lyke in the continewance of [this] sute. The gretest matter wherwyth I am chargyd is the accusasion of one, who fallyng by presumpcion, from the deuty of hys allegeance, careth not how farr, by untrewe surmises he ..... to all dishonour. But, seyng of the dedd we ought to speak but well, and the ryppyng upp of hys uniust and rash delyngs can brede me no securyty in this hevy plyght, I wyll no long[er] frett thys festred sore, but leve hym to Gods mercy. Whose untrewe speches I would not h[ave] feryd if I myght have tryed the cause wyth the person hymself, not doutyng but my playn and trewe defences should sone have put hym to sylence, whose wrytyng wyll remayn a perpetuall wytness of my evyll behaviour. Nowe, the case standyng as yt doth, that.....chargyd wyth the authoryty of an Erle, then the profe of a wytnesse, albeyt I desire nothyng more than tryall, yet, in this great disgrace of fortune, if her Ma. may otherwise be satisfied, rather would I humbly crave to be harbored in your Lo. frendly and favorable delyng then any open adventure, in so great a cause, to have my allegeance callyd in question, the very suspicion whereof beryth no small discredytt, or gyve myne enemys so great an advantage, who beyng not yet satisfyed wyth all my misfortunes would gladly fynd some newe occasion to [accuse] me. Wherefore, I most humbly beseche your Lo., eyther upon the assurance of that you have.....sene in my defence, or in hope of thes further profes whych upon any kynd of tryall w[hych] it shal plese your Lo. to make choyse, shall well appere, to dele with her Ma. for the.....of her displesure, whe beyng, of her self, not esely inclined to credytt the harder part, by your Lo. frendly and honorable intercession, the soner be removyd. Nothing in the w[orld], God is my wytness, I desyre so much, as her hyghnes good ane gracious opinion, wh... the treuth of all these delyngs myght be reveyld by ther confession, who, in this trage[dy] played, I dout not but I should sone recover, and the chefest partes should be more apparent to the world. In the mene

time I wholly commytt my self to your Lo. protection, wheryn I am the more encoraged by your goodnes shewyd to my brother, Henry,* who otherwyse, beyng surchargyd wyth the malyce of hys adversarys, must have yelded to hys own mysfortunes. Myne own hevy state is rather enforcyd to praye in ayde then my poore good wyll lyke to be commodious, yet your Lo. I hope wyll accept the same, because yt shall be alwayes faythfull. Thus, most humbly besechyng God to preserve your Lo. in all honor and prosperyty, I humbly [take] my leve, the last of thys month.—Your Lo. most bownden, duryng lyfe,

J. WESTMERLAND."

Orig. Cott. MS. Cal. C. iij, f. 433.

As the Countess received an allowance,† for the support of herself and family, it may be presumed that she was considered innocent of the charges advanced by the Earl of Northumberland; and the fact of her being a protestant‡ would have a tendency to disarm the Queen's displeasure.

In 1574, she writes again to Lord Burghley:—"As I am bound, I give your Lo. most humble thanks; first, for my poore

* Henry Howard, second son to the Earl of Surrey, and brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was a prisoner in the month of April, 1572; and, in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated from Lambeth, 26th April, 1572, he complains of the exchange of place and decay of his liberty, when he expected a full discharge. "It maie seme strange unto your Lo. that my Lo. of Canterburies entertaynment being both honorable and curteouse; and the former charge of my diete well abated, I should mislike my seate; but if it maie please the same to call to minde the small pleasure a presoner receyveth in his golden fetters, you will the rather be moved to pitty myne afflicted state.....This place maie have more credit, but surely it hath less com forte; and for myne owne parte (with your Lo. favour and liking) I rather crave open emprysonment in the Flete, then a kinde of close keping in in this pallace. No outward beawty releiveth an inward grefe, and wisdome preferreth a cottage of claye before a cage of gold." His imprisonment he states to have been already of sixteen weeks duration; and prays, if he may not now have full liberty, for an offence "not heynouse," that he may be allowed to live at Howard House, giving bond for his appearance.—*Orig. S.P.* The Archbishop is also a suitor to be relieved from his prisoner; and writes to Lord Burghley, 2nd July, 1572, "to obtayne libertye for my Lord Henry, which he much desireth; wherupon seyng the parlement is now at a staye, I praye you be a mean to her Majestie, that he may have his desier."—*Orig. Lansdown MS. No.* 15—35.

He was created Earl of Northampton by King James, 13th March, 1604.

† In May, 1577, the Queen granted an additional annuity of £100. to the Countess, during pleasure, for herself and her three daughters, over and besides £200. allowed by a former warrant.—*Privy Seal Records.*

‡ In the MS. life of Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, written by her chaplain; it is stated *(p. 6)* that the Duke of Norfolk "dehorted" his daughter-in-law, the Countess of Surrey, from the Catholic religion, by letters, &c.; and that "the same endeavour was usd by ye Duke's sister, ye Countess of Westmerland," who "was a very zealouse protestant";—and again, *p.* 7, the Lord Henry Howard, "did always maintaine and defend ye Catholick religion, against his sister of Westmerland."—*Rev. M. A. Tierney.*

husband, whom your carefull frendshypp always sekyth to bryng to better estate, although it semyth that his own cruell fortune repughneth all good menes and indevours that may be used to do him good. For myne owne part, I hard not of hym a longe tyme; and whych greves me not a lyttle. I fere he hath not receyved my last letter, because he makyth no answer; but, I beseche your Lo. most humbly to continewe your goodnes, trustyng that, in the ende, a more happy effect maye follow. I have also most humbly to thanke your Lo. for your continuall goodnes to my selfe, and for the lese of the parkes of Branspethe, yt plesed you to procure me at the Quenes Majestys hand, yet am I forcyd, although I be verye lothe so often to trouble your Lo. to be a suter to you, that my lese in one point may be amendyd; whych is thys—that the Quenes Majesty hath ther grawnted yt to me no longer then yt plese her to kepe it in her own handes, so that if eyther her selfe, or successours shall eyther gyve yt or sell yt, my lese is of no valew. In consideration wherof I beseche your Lo. to shewe me so much favour as I maye have a newe lese grawnted for twenty yeres, in such sort as I may enjoye it quietly, wher so ever her Majesty bestow the land; and that it maye passe in the name of thys berar, my servant John Emerson. Thus feryng to troble your Lo. I ende, remayning your poore frynd, and wyshing all good hap. to your Lo. and all yours. From Fremyngham, this 10 of October.—Your Lo. most bownd, duryng lyef. JANE WESTMERLAND."

Orig. Lansdown MS. No. xviij, 94.—*Endorsed*, 10 *Oct.* 1574.

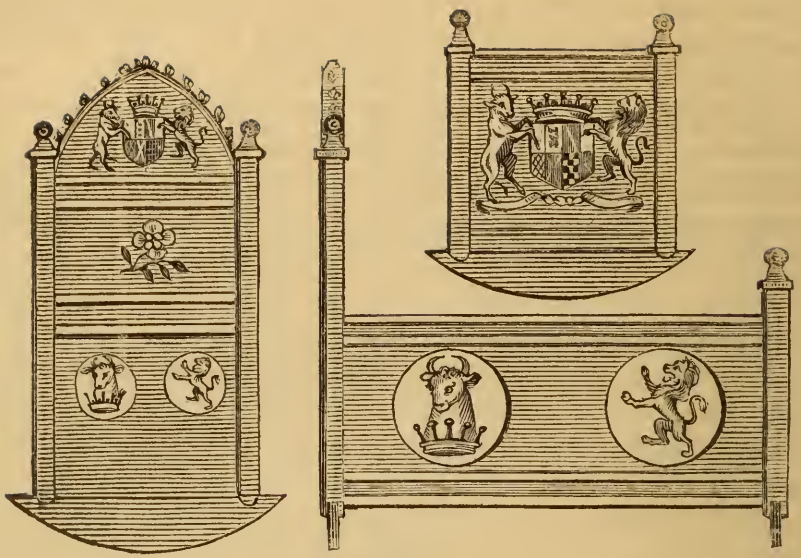
She failed in all her endeavours to procure the pardon of her husband; and, as she is not named subsequently, it may be presumed, that she spent the remainder of her days in privacy and retirement,* lamenting the sad destiny which had bereaved

* She was "a lady of great virtue and acquirements, accompanied with such gentle feminine manners, sense, and affectionate love of her family, and her duties, that had her father lavished on her all his praise of the imaginary Geraldine, he could scarce have made her more interesting than what has been written of her by Robert Constable, the vile betrayer of the Earl of Westmereland."—*Memorials of the Howards*, by Henry Howard of Corby Castle, Esq. a gentleman of high lineage, unwearied zeal and indefatigable research; and his work (unfortunately printed for private circulation) is written in the pleasing and unpretending style of an English gentleman, with much candour, good taste, and excellent feeling.

her of a father and a brother, who both died on the scaffold; and of a husband who lingered in misery and hopeless exile.

She died, in 1593, and was buried at Kenninghall, on the 30th June.—*Par. Register.—Kenninghall.**

* No portrait exists of the Countess of Westmoreland, but she is represented kneeling at the foot of her father's tomb in Framlingham Church, Suffolk,—erected by the Earl of Northampton. An original portrait of her husband is in the possession of the Earl of Abergavenny, lithographied in the privately printed history of the family of Nevill by Daniel Rowlands, Esq. 1830. He is represented in a splendid dress of the times, high forehead, small regular features, "the Neville nose," a pleasing but rather effeminate expression—alike wanting in energy and decision of character.



THE EARL'S DAUGHTERS.

MARGARET NEVILLE was only five years of age at the time of the Rebellion. In 1594 she was tried and convicted at the Durham assizes, for having been found in company with a seminary priest, John Bost* (declared felony by 27th Eliz.); and her letter to the Queen expresses, in moving terms, her melancholy situation.

"To the Quenes moste excellent Maiestie: most humblie with teares beseacheth your highnes, your Maiesties moste

* John Bost was taken in the house of Mr. William Claxton; he was examined on the 11th Sept. 1593, before the Lord President, Mr. Deane of Durham, Sir William Bowes, &c. His original confession (Lansdown MS, 75, 22) states that he was born at Duton, in Westmoreland—that he is fifty years of age—that he left Oxford thirteen years ago—was made a priest at Rheims—that he landed at Hartlepool—and was five years in Scotland—but latterly never out of the Bishoprick, Yorkshire, and Northumberland—"he hathe said that he confesseth that if he said not everie daie a masse it was agaenst his will," Bishop Matthews, who preached his funeral sermon, said—"It was pity so much worth should have died that day."—*Mem. Missionary Priests*, 312.

desolate poore subject, Margaret Nevill, one of the daughters of th infortunate late Erle of Westmerland, to take princelie pittie upon my lamentable estate. With great greefe, I doe confesse (most gratious Sovereign) that sithins the death of my deare mother, having no part of that allowance, which it pleased your Majesty moste gratiouslie to bestow upon me, nor any of her maintenance, I was forced, by reason of great want, to receive reliefe of papistes, by whose subtiltie, my needie simplicitie was allured from myne obedience and loialtie, to their superstition and errors; and so being drawne into the companie of a seminarie priest, I was condemned. At th assizes the last somer, beng destitute of help, it plesed the good bishop of Duresme, at the motion of my Lord President* and the judges, to take me into his house, where he onelie hathe, and doeth yet whollie releeve me; and, by his godlie and sounde earnest instructions, he hathe (I moste humblie praise God) fullie reformed me in relligion, which (by God's grace) I shall, with all obedience to your highnes, constantlie professe, while I live. And now (alas) seeinge this pittiful bishop, my onelie help, is verie shortlie to leave this countrie; and I know not how or where to be releeved: I commend my cause and woeful estate unto God and your Majestie, most humblie beseaching your highness, of your princelie and moste gratious wonted compassion, to be mercifull unto me, a moste distressed, poore maiden; and to vouchsafe me your most comfortable pardon for my life, and somwhat also for my releefe (which if I still want, my liefe wil be no life, but mere miserie); so shall the enemies of true religion have no cause to reioice at my woe; the repenting poore converts, by myne example, wil be comforted; and I (as most bounde) shall never cease with them to praie for your Majesties moste happie reigne, in all wished felicitie, long to endure.—Feb. 14, 1594.—Your Majesties moste woefull poore prisoner. MARGARETT NEVYLL.

Orig. Lansdown MS. No. 78, 12.

* Misprinted in Strype *Lord Treasurer*; and this affords Nares, who copies Strype, v. 3, p. 431, a subject for general commendation of the humanity of Cecil:—"for mitigating at least the troubles and distresses of those whom he could not altogether relieve."

As this letter was written whilst she was imprisoned in the house of a protestant bishop, who had laboured hard for her conversion, and, when she was under sentence of death; she would naturally adopt the sentiments most likely to obtain grace from the Queen.

Two days afterwards the bishop (Hutton) writes to the Lord Treasurer, to solicit her pardon; reminding him, that "shee is descended of divers noble howses in the memorie of man: of the houses of Buckingham, Norfolk, Westmerland, and Rutland: and now (behoulde the instabilitie of all humane thinges) two of them are utterly overthrowne; onely one standeth unspotted, and shee herself a poore mayde, condemned to die"; and she confessed to the bishop that "partly want did cause hir to wade to woe."—*Orig. Lansdown MS. No.* 78, 11.

She was still a prisoner in 1595, when Hutton (then archbishop of York) applied personally to the Queen in her favour, who said—"she would have consideration of the petition."—*Lansdown MS, No.* 79, 39.

Bishop Matthews writes to the Lord Treasurer,* 27 May, 1598, that she was "pardoned in hope of the continuance of her pretended conformity, from which I hear she is relapsed since." —*Lansdown MS. No.* 87, 16; *and Strype, vol.* 4, *p.* 345.

She married Nicholas Pudsey, and received an annuity from James I, in 1604.†

Katherine, married Sir Thomas Grey, of Chillingham, co. Northumberland, knight. They were married privately in the

* Original letter,—Lansdown MS.—printed in Strype, vol. 4, p. 343; and in Sadler, v. 2, p. 204,—where the prelate's constructions are said truly to "argue a narrow spirit, and want of charity," In the latter copy, however, "judged in London," with a note of explanation has been printed for "touched in honour,"

Toby Mathew was translated to York, in 1606, for *lack of grace*, according to his own saying (*Fuller*); and he is also reported to have said of his sons, that "Tobias, who was knighted, and is remembered to be an hectoring papist, had wit and no grace; his son Samuel—grace and no wit; and the third—neither grace nor wit."—*Sloane MS.* 4225, *British Museum.*

† In 1604, King James directs a warrant to pay to the Earl of Northampton, (their uncle) during the life of Margaret Nevill, eldest daughter of Charles, Earl of Westmarcland, attainted in the late Queen's time, one hundred marks to her [own] use, as an enlardgment of a former pencon of fifty pounds, and one hundred marks yearly for life, with a proviso that her former pencon of fifty pounds do cease; and to Katherine and Anne, two other of the daughters of the said Earl, two hundred marks to each of them; and to the Lady Adeline Neville, sister to the said Earle, fifty pounds yearly,—*P. S. Rec.*

manor house of Battersby, co. York, 7th Nov. 1515. He died 9th April, 1590; and, by his will, signed 17th Jan, 1589, he desires burial in the tombe of his ancestors, at Chillingham; and gives to the Lady Ann Neville, his sister-in-law, two hundred marks, to be paid by Sir Henry Constable, "which he oweth me for my wife, by his father's gift";—he leaves to his sister, Radcliff, his "tablett of golde," and states that his wife is neice to Lady Catherine Constable, who owes him five hundred marks. He appoints his wife an executrix, to whom he bequeaths the residue of his fortune, after the payment of various legacies.

Bishop Matthews gives an account of her arrest in a letter to to the Lord Treasurer, 27th May, 1598, (*Strype, vol.* 4, *p.* 343) and of her committal to the jailor's house, for the same *crime* which was attributed to her sister Margaret, namely—"receiving and relieving" seminary priests. The bishop affects to speak slightingly of her conduct, and retails much idle gossip on the subject. He asks—"how she shall be dealt with, and used; whether detained in durance, or bailed upon good bonds, for her appearance, from time to time. 2.—Whether she shall be touched only for recusancy, or charged with any other matter that may occur. 3.—Whether anything amounting to felony, &c. shall arise against her, she shall be tryed thereof, at the next assizes here, or at Northumberland, as her sister, the Lady Margaret was, anno 1593; and, by her Majesty most graciously pardoned, in hope of the continuance of her pretended conformity; from the which I hear she is relapsed since. 4.—Whether she shall be suffered to keep house of herself, with some of her own servants about her, and her friends sometime resorting to her, as she desireth earnestly, or live as her keeper shall provide for her, in a more private and close manner. 5.—Whether she shall be permitted to ride abroad and take the air, or continue within her lodging. 6.—Such other particulars as your Lordship, in your wisdom, shall think fit to impart to me."

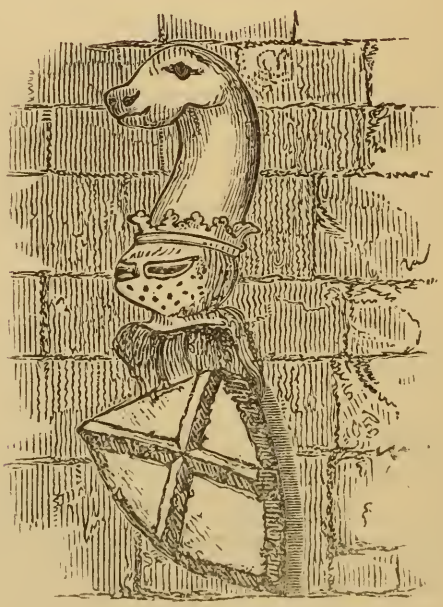
She died without issue.

Anne, married David, younger brother of Sir William Ingleby, of Ripley, knight; and she also comes under the bishop's

designation of "obstinacy," or, otherwise, *constancy* in the religion of her father;—and, according to Dugdale, (*Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1665, 14 *Aug.*) she left an only daughter and heir, Mary, married to Sir Peter Middleton, of Stokeld, in co. York, knight.

In the enquiry and survey of Brancepath, in 1614, it is stated that she held a lease from the Queen, of the herbage of the East Park, at a yearly rent of £40.

Eleanor, died, unmarried, before 1604.



R. Easton. Sculp.

Thomas Percy.

7th Earl of Northumberland.

Ætatis Suæ 38.

ANº DNI: 1566. ET DIE DECº XVIII.

From an original picture at Petworth.

" Listen, lively lordlings all,
Lithe and listen unto mee,
And I will sing of a noble Erle—
The noblest Earl in the North Countrie."
The Rising of the North.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

THOMAS PERCY, seventh Earl, was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Percy, next brother to the sixth Earl. His father was attainted for his share in Aske's rebellion. He was restored in blood, and to the earldom, by Queen Mary, in 1557, with remainder, in default of male issue, to his brother Henry.

He was appointed, by Mary, jointly with Lord Wharton, warden of the east March. In the first year of Queen Elizabeth he had the charge of the east and middle Marches; and his name occurs prominently in the border transactions of the time: and although the Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1557, (*Lodge*,

v. 1, *p.* 290) commends his zeal, yet, Sir Ralph Sadler, in 1559, considers him "a very unmete man for that charge which is comytted unto him here."—*Sadler*, *v*, 1, *p.* 410; 29 *Aug.* 1559.

He received the Garter from Queen Elizabeth, in the fifth year of her reign.

On the arrival of the Queen of Scots in England, he endeavoured to obtain the custodie of her person;* and for that purpose he writes to Queen Elizabeth, on the 18th of May, 1568—"and for her enterteignment and saftye, I have sent to myn officers and frendes there, diligently to attend upon the same untyll your highness good pleasure be understanded in y^{t} behaulf."—*Orig. S. P.* And to Cecil he writes on the same day, desiring him—"to be a meane to the Q. to understand her pleasure how I may use my self in this case, consydering she hath happened to land within my liberties, and what servyce it shall lyke her highnes to charge me with in this matter: and in the mean tyme I have taken order with my said officers and frendes ther for her saftie and enterteignement; and, seing she hath happened into my handes, I trust you and other, my deare frendes ther wil be meyne y^{t} my credyt be not so much impared in y^{e} face of my Contrey, as she shuld be taken from me, and delyvered to eny other in thes partes."—*Orig. S. P.* Both letters are dated at Topcliff. Sir George Bowes, who was sick, sent a messenger to the Lord Scroope to state that, meeting with the Earl of Northumberland, he advised him "earnestly to forbeare his repayre to the Queen of Scotts," until the Queen's pleasure should be known (*Sir F. Knollys to Cecil*, 27 *May*, 1568; *Calig. b. ix*, 290).

* The Earl of Northumberland claimed her, as she had landed, within his liberty, as his prize. Mr. Lowther, as deputy warden of that March, claimed her as his prisoner; as she had come within his charge, without a passport. The Earl obtained, from the Council at York, an order upon Mr. Lowther, to deliver the Scottish Queen to the Earl, which he refused to obey. Sir Francis Knollys, hearing on his journey northward, of this dispute, wrote to that high-minded Earl, that he would do well not to press his pretensions till they were settled by Elizabeth, to whom the authority of deciding such a question belonged. The Earl, however, came to Carlisle, and demanded the Scottish Queen, to be delivered to him, which, being refused by Mr. Lowther, the haughty noble called him a *varlet*; saying he was too low a man, to pretend to such a charge. It is possible, that the Earl's disappointment, on this occasion, may have been one of the ingredients which formed the mass of discontent, that induced this ill-fated noble, to go into his unsuccessful rebellion.—*Chalmer's Life of Mary*, *v.* 1, *p.* 446.

The Earl attended the Lord President and Council at York, in October, 1569; and they were satisfied with his professions of loyalty. Still, however, warlike preparations were continued by his confederates in the bishoprick.

In the answers to the interrogatories at Berwick, the Earl has entered so minutely into the history of the consultations which preceded the Rebellion, that it would seem unnecessary, and less interesting, to use any other expletives than his own.

On the 8th of November, the Earls write to the Pope (Pius V.) for assistance; and the purport of their letter may be gathered from the reply of the Pontiff, dated the 20th of February following, in which he states, that—he bears great affection towards them and the catholics in the most flourishing kingdom of England, to which he is particularly attached; because, by the endeavours and industry of the most blessed Gregory, Bishop of Rome, under the omnipotent God, it was converted from the worship of wood and stones to the Christian faith; and was established in morals and catholic doctrine, by fit and proper men sent for that purpose. He grieves much at the intelligence sent to him, and he is greatly affected that so many and such great poisons of wicked heresies and such deadly wounds should have happened, during his pontificate, to the christian republic. He regrets that he is compelled to be anxious respecting their danger, and that of other catholics, and he hopes that God has put it into their hearts to recall the kingdom to its former obedience to Rome, and to establish it;—and he exhorts them to persevere, being assured that God, who had excited them to this attempt would assist them: and, if in assisting the Catholick faith and the authority of the holy see, death should happen to you, and your blood be poured out, it is much more honourable to attain eternal life for the confession of God, through a glorious death, than by living shamefully and ignominiously in obedience to the caprice of a weak woman, with detriment to your souls. He then exhorts them not to desist, but rather to follow the example of Thomas of Canterbury, (Thomas à Becket) and to rely upon God, who, through them, would restore the antient religion and dignity of the kingdom. That this may come to pass he promises, not only

to assist them in obtaining the good offices of the christian princes named, which they require; but also with money for present circumstances, which, according to his ability, he is able to supply them with, as they will learn more clearly and fully from his beloved son, Robert Rodolf, endeavouring to give even more than his means can well afford; and promising to second their attempt by every means in his power.—*F. Gobau, Apost. Pii Quinti, &c. MDCXL. Antverpiæ.*

A few days after this letter was written he received the Queen's commands to repair immediately to her presence, when he returned the following answer :—

"My most dread and leege Soveraign,—yf yt shall in any thing mislyke your excellent Majestie, that I have not made my spedie repayre to your presence, according to your comandment geven me by the Lord President, let this myne unfayned excuse, I most humblie beseche you stande me in steade. My loyaltie, zeale, and devocyon towards you, ever syns the begyning of your most noble reyne, hathe bene alwayes in every occasyon manifested, well knowen and tryed, and what affection and desyer I had, and have to have served you in place wherein I might best have shewed the same pleased and contented you. And further, what bond of assurance I have made unto you, above all others (never mynding nor intending to spott or violate any jote thereof) your Majestie best knoweth, having at no tyme done before eny thing (with intente) that I thought might mislyke or offende you; but as glad and willing to serve, and fearfull to offend, as eny, the meanest vassall and subjecte that you have. And, yet, notwithstanding, untrew bruts and rumors, vayne imaginacons and surmyses, have bene, from tyme to tyme, blowen abroade by such as love me not; and have bene instilled in your Majesties eares, thereby to cary your credite from me, and to stayne my faith and fidelitie, which albeit, they have bene, through your great goodnes and depe consyderacon, exactlie tryed and proved, as they were voyde and fryvelus; and so have ever hitherto bene passed over; yet have they (as I feare) left in your noble harte, of me, some doubte and suspicion. Whereby myne adversaries have taken occasyon to contynew there old cancar, and to renew ther conceyved hatred;

and in this tyme especiallie (wherein some of your nobles, to whom I wishe as much good and welfare as may becum me to wishe to trew and faithful subjects) have incurred your grevous displeasure, they have dispersed fayned tayles and bruts, touching the breach of my loyaltee and dewtie of obedience, by me never done, ment, nor intended; and have blowen the same abroad in the eares of the people, not onely by open talke, but also by acte (under a fayned pretence of feare) drawing to strengthes and holds, where, in verey dede, they had no shadow of any matter at all geven them of eny doubt, but that yt was ther only devise to bring me and others to be odious to your highnes, and sclandrers to your subjects. And, albeit, God and my conscience knoweth, that I never ment or intended any disloyall acte towardes your Majestie, but in the service and defence thereof shall be founde ready whilst I lyve (according to my moste bownded dewtie and bond of allegiance) to spend my lief, my lands, and all that I have, against all persons whatsoever; nor have done anything (I knowe of) offensive to your lawes, as all the cuntry can testifie; yet for that the maynteyners herof are in thes partes in some authoritie, and also in credite with some of your private counsellers, who (as my former experience hath taught me) have been willing to heare, and set furth matters to my discredite, I durst not adventure to the presence of your most royall person, before I had most humblie prostrate before your great clemency, craved your most gracious pardon, yf I have, through lack of skill lyked that which may not content you, and before tyme had shewed (as I trust shortlie yt shall) how untrew those reports and sclanders are, wherby my truthe and innocency might appeare, and I be harde with some better eare.

Most humbly beseeching your merciful goodnes, that as I shall lyve and contynew, and so dye your subjecte, ever faithfull and trew, even so yt wold lyke the same not to gyve eare to suche reports as may touche my faith and fidelitie, before I have comitted or done any one thing materiall, whereby the same may rather be drawen in doubt or suspicion. And that it wold please the sonne of your great mercy to take compassion of my miserable state and condicon, wherein I do stand, and shall

remayne (being doubtfull of your grace and favor, which of all earthly things I most wishe for, and pray that I may therby be recomforted, (my feare taken away) I may safely repaire to your presence, try myself, serve and honour you, as I am bounde, and acknowledge my lief and all that I have as a mene benefitt of your most bountifull goodnes receyved, as knoweth the Almyghtye, to whose holie direction I commend your highnes. From Topclif, this xiij of November. 1569. Your Majesties most humble obedyent and loyal subiecte,—

T. NORTHUMBERLAND."

Orig. S. P.

On the following day the Earls entered Durham, with a formidable band of horsemen ;* and proceeded, at once, to acts which marked the character of their rebellion. Their further proceedings have been already related ;—they advanced to Clifford Moor, and suddenly retreated to the bishoprick, where the Earl of Westmoreland undertook the seige of Barnard Castle ; and the Earl of Northumberland was detached with a body of horsemen, to prevent the approach of the Queen's troops from Berwick.†

* Stated to be three score, p. 37; but, on a closer inspection of the letter, it would seem to be three hundred, which is more probable. The Earl of Sussex fixes the number to have been five hundred, p. 74.

† Which circumstance is mentioned in the following interesting letter from Lord Sussex to Cecil, dated at York, 6th Dec. 1569 :—

" Sir,—My Lord of Hunsdon, Mr. Saddeler, and I, have wryten to the Quenes Majestie, aunswer of her hyghnes lettres of the fyrste; wherunto I referre you.

I am sorye I dare not, untell further force come, releve Sir George Bowes, who, I fere, hathe more men in Barney Castell, then he can vyttall; and therefor I have used all the means I maye, by sendyng of meny fote messengers to gett one to enter the Castell.

All the letters be to on effect, that I wyll, with all spede possyble. marche forward ; but ther credyte is, to wylle him to cause his horsmen to breake thoroughe ther campe in the nyght, and to come hether, or go to Newcastle, or some other place of suerty, yf he have not suffycyent provysyon of vyttalles and horsmeate ; and to retyre himself, with his shotte, and a convenyent nombre of his princypall fotemen into the inner ward, and to leave the meaner sorte in the utter ward, and to wylle them to sett open the gates of that ward, wherby he maye have vyttalles suffycyent for suche as shall kepe the second ward ; and the rebelles fyndyng but the meaner sorte in the utter ward, wyll do them no hurte, but seeke to cause them to serve them ; and the lacke of ther servyce shal be no lacke to us.

Yf ther laye nothing apon it but my owne lyfe, I would not dowte, with the force I have, to rayse ther seige; and, ether not fyght, or to force theyr horsemen to fyght at one tyme with all my horsemen and fotemen ; but for that, the matter is so wayghty to the Quene and the realme, I dare not adventure untell ether more horsemen or more shotte come.

When I had wrytten thus ferre, a man of Sir George Bowes came to me owte of those partes, by whom I perceyve no person can enter or come owte of the Castell. He saythe, the rebelles have shotte three dayes together, at the walle of the utter ward, but they

On the advance of the Earl of Sussex, they disbanded their foot, and fled with their horsemen towards Scotland; harassed and pursued by the troops of the Queen.

The "rising," and its disastrous termination, have been already related. The Earl fell into the hands of outlaws on the Borders and was treated with great indignity: he took refuge in the house of Hector of the Harlaw (see p. 118); but he was betrayed and sold to the Regent (Murray) who immediately carried him to Edinburgh (30th Dec, 1569) and committed him to close confinement in the Castle of Loch Leven.*

Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, on the 3rd January following, —"The Erle of Northumberland ys caryed to Lohlevyn, and two servants with hym, George Pryngel and one that had charge of hys horsys, as I had wrytten to you byfore. Altho th Erle be takyn, ye wyll not fynd ytt an easy matter too gett hym from them. I see the whole cuntry of Skotland agenst the delyvery of hym (onles hyr Majestie wyll grant hym pardon) as I have great cawse too dowght the delyvery of hym."—*Orig. S.P.*

The Earl soon felt his confinement irksome; and shortly after the meeting of the convention, he sent to every Lord "of the King's side" the following supplicatory letter:—

have don no hurte; and th Earl of Northumberland is gone towardes Duresme with 500 horsemen, to mete the shotte of Barwyke, and the horsemen of Northumberland. God send them of Barwyke never worse matche.

Even nowe, I have receyved your letters of the thyrde, and, as I wyll geve owte those partes that be fete to be known, tochyng the loyalty of the nobylyte, so do I wyshe that some matter were delyvered from thens, wherby the realme myght understand my Lord of Norfolke, my Lord of Arundell, and my Lord of Pembroke, did detest ther doynges, for that they abuse the pepell gretely in the places nere to them with those delusyons; and yesterdaye have raysed a brute that the Erle of Worcester is raysing of pepell in Wales, and my Lord of Arundell in other places.

So sone as eny supplye shall come from the southe or the north, I wyll, God wylling, marche forwardes: and, yf they be stronger in horsemen, I truste we shal be the habler syde, in dyrectyon, and, by that means, so assyste our horsmen with our fotemen, as the lacke shal be supplyed by Godes grace, withowte perell. At Yorke, 6 Dec. 1569.—Yours, assuredly. T. SUSSEX."

The cause whye her Majesties force to be assembled here is not so grete as the force of the rebelles, is not for lacke of proses of men that may be assembled by her auctoritie, within the countye of Yorke; but for that the countye of Yorke can not make so meny horsemen as the rebelles have; and you see howe I am aunswered from other places, and that I have nether armour ne munityon to furnyshe the fotemen, wherwith I may helpe to supply the lacke of the horsemen."—*Original S. P.*

* On the 2nd January the Earl of Northumberland "was convoyit be my Lord Regent furth of Edinburgh to Lochlevin, theirin to remayne, *induring his will.*—*Occurents.*

"My good Lord,—I have contynued a longe tyme, not only a banished man, but also a prisoner; and glad wold seke the favor of the Quene, my Sovereign. I pray your Lordship to stand my good lord and frende, not only for your furtherance for th obtayning of the same; but also your helpe with the rest of the Lords at this convencon, to grante me some easement and liberty, according to such pore and humble request as I have moved the Lard of this howse, to open unto your Lordship and to the rest. Good my Lord, remember my longe and tediowse tyme I have had here; glad wold I have some comfortable tyme to refresh and to recreat myself for a while, untill I might obtaine the Quene my Sovereigns favor. I pray your Lordship to think of me for the old good will I have borne unto you, and to my Lord Graye; for it is possible I may stand you, or some of yours, in stead of service.

I can not use no great ceremonies; but referring my cawse unto your good consideracion, I commyt you to th Almighty God. From Loughleven, the 18th June, 1570."—*Copy S. P.*

This letter obtained no advantageous result; and he still remained a prisoner.

His wife, who had escaped to Flanders, was using every exertion to raise the means to procure his ransom; and, from Mechlin, she entered into negotiations with the Laird of Loughleven for the liberation of her husband. On the 27th January, 1571, she dispatched a letter to him, to renew her request (*Murdin, p.* 186); but complaining of the hard terms demanded for the ransom of the Earl; yet assuring him, that his friends are ready to advance the sum, provided their money may not be "cast away;" and that they may have good assurance of fulfilment. In her letters to her husband, (27th and 28th Jan.) she states, that ten thousand crowns are obtained: six thousand having been advanced by the King of Spain,* and four thousand by the Pope; and expresses great obligations for the aid she

* In a letter from the Duke of Alva to King Philip (7th Nov. 1570) he states that the Countess of Northumberland had applied to him, for letters to the captain who detained her husband; and also to place 10,000 crowns at her disposal to procure the Earl's liberty—that he had replied to her that no man was more grieved at the disaster which had befallen the Earl than himself, knowing the regard your Majesty entertained towards him individually; and in consideration of the circumstances which had produced his misfortune:—

had received from the Lord Seaton. Seven thousand crowns, (a portion of this sum) were placed in safe custody, amounting to about two thousand pounds sterling; and she had received three thousand crowns, for other necessary purposes, connected with his release. (*Murdin, p.* 188).

She also writes to the Earl of Morton, by the same messenger, entreating his assistance (*Murdin, p.* 193).

Shortly afterwards the Earl of Mar,* then Regent, writes to the Laird of Loughleven—"Richt traist cousing,—efter maist hertlie commendations, zistrene, the Marishall of Berwick and Maister Randolphe come heir fra Sanct Johnnestoun, and hes maid us previe to ane advertisment quhilk thay have ressavit laitlie with diligence furthe of England, how thair is a practize in heid, and intendit to be execute about the end of this moneth or begynning of the nixt, for convoying away of the Erll of Northumberland out of Lochlevin, other to the casteil of Edinburgh, or then to Abirdene. That thair suld be sum thing alsua attemptit aganis the King, howsoevir it be, the advertizment is not to be contempnit, for it is thocht the Lord Seytonis speciall messaige from Duke Dalva tendis to this end. Keip this to zourself, and provide for the werse, quhill ze see to quhat liklyheid thingis drawis: heirof I thocht gude to advertize zou. And sua leving for the present to mak langar letter, committis zou in the protectioun of Almichtie God. At Striveling, the xvj of Marche, 1571. (q. 71-2.)—Zour assurit freind,—

JHON REGENT.

Addressed:—"To our richt traist Cousing, the Lard of Lochlevin."—*Original in the possession of the Earl of Morton.*

but he feared that such letters might be more injurious than beneficial to the Earl. The King (6 Jan. 1571) approves of the Duke's prudence, yet limits his assistance to 6000 crowns.

"Et pour aultant que touche l'assistance de deniers que la dite Contesse demande pour mettre son dit mary en liberte, vous en ay aultres fois escript en Espaignole, que seroye content d'y employer jusques a six mil escus, selon quoy vous pourrez regler."—*Archives des Pays bas, Bruxelles.*

* Ane schort inveccyde maid aganis the delyverance of the Erle of Northumberland:—

"Fy on thee, *Mar*! that ever thow consentit
Ane nobilman sa falselie to dissave!
.....
Judas, that sauld our Salviour to be slaine,
Ane vyler draucht nor thow did never draw;
Nor Ganyelon, aganes Charles the Maine;
Nor Andro Bell, that wicket vyle outlaw;
Nor yit the tratour Eckie of Hairlaw,
That says he sould him to redeme his pledge.
Your deid is war, as all the world dois knaw;—
Ye can nothing bot covatice alledge."—*Maitland.*

On the 22nd of November, 1571, Lord Hunsdon writes from Berwick to the Privy Council—"Towching the delyverie of the Earle of Northumberland and the reste of her Majesties rebelles, I have had longe debatinge with them" (viz. the Earl of Morton and the commendator of Dunfermling,* who had been recently at Berwick, to treat about the pacification of the troubles in Scotland, through the instrumentality of Queen Elizabeth) "wherin they made resytall of the chargis that the Lorde of Loghleven hath bine att with the said Earle; and howe th Earle hath offered the Lorde of Lochlevyn 4000 markes sterlinge, to be paide presently to him in hande to lett him goe. Notwithstandinge bothe he and the reste shall be delivered to her Majestie upon resonnable consideracions of theyr chargis."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Countess of Northumberland having heard some alarming reports of the intentions of the parties who detained her husband, writes the following letter to him:—

"The rumoris and brutis here geven furthe of your L. delivery into England hathe trobbled many; but for my self, and for them that be of the wiser sorte and of more judgement, it could never sinke into our myndes that ever ony of honour or credite wold agree to suche a condicion, especiallie in that nation that have so often tasted of the love of their neighbours in cases like to yours, and that hathe so often neded therunto: or that the Larde (who is of that honour and wisdome, as he is taken to be, and hitherto hathe shewed himself) wold lay upon his howse or honour suche a burden, as in sheweng the president by you that never hathe bene before shewed by ony of his nation in ony other; or that by him the mishappe might fall to yow, which all we, by helpe and succurre of other of the nobilitie of the same, have eschewed and avoyded. This (I say) could never seame lykely unto us, and, therefore, did we less accompte of suche sayeingis as those that have more grounded opinion of

* Let thame that sold him have the schame:—

.....

"Mar, and the devilische Douglassis,
And namelie Mortoun and Lochlevin;
Macgill, and Orknay—Scottish assis!
And Cleische, quhomto the gold wes gevin;
Dumfermling, that the py prepaird;
And lowse Lindsay quho was his gaird."—*Maitland*

the Lardis dexteritie and honorable dealing; and do hoape more in him for the perfecting and accomplishing of our longe desired sewte for your enlargement, then that we can conceave or distrust ony sinister meenyng or undew devise at his handis, tending to your undoeng or overthrow. Althoughe we are not of that mynde but that your ennemyes do and will by all the meanes they can worke by worde, promise, and fayne gloses practise what they may to draw the Larde to agree unto thame. Yet we stande in no doubte of him, but that he hathe that consideration over his owne honour, and is of that wisdome, that he will passe over their requestis in wise order; and yet stande as shal be most agreable to his calling, seing it restithe in his only power and will, without their impeachment or others comptrollement, to do for you in this case as to himself shall seame best, he soly having the order and possession of you, without bonde or charge to stay him from doeing for you as he sall thinke good. Of whom alone you are to seke your release, and that way to follow it that it may be graunted with expedition, seing we be prepared and readie to satisfie him, upon the understanding of ony sufficient assurance wherby we may, upon the payment of the money, be sewre to have the possession of your body; and that, by long delay and protracte of tyme, many inconveniencis may chance, muche hindrance cumme, asweill by the hazarde and perill of your servantis in passing to and fro, intercepting or miscariage of letters, and other mishappes, as by the great chargis whiche I am at in the often sending, and in the expence of tyme which consumethe muche of the litle that I have, wherby myne habilitie will grow to be lesse, and your frendis wax weary: you shall not be hable to yeld so muche benefite to the Larde as now you may do; nor he can take the commoditie whiche now he may have, whiche, as it liethe you upon to forsee and to pursew to a conclusion that may take a spedie effecte: so we hoape that the wisdome of the Larde will not lett passe this best and offered opportunitie, whiche standithe most with his honour and commoditie to take holde upon; but will resolve with you in such reasonable order as we may with expedition receave the fine of your agreement, and he may have from us his benefite, with all benevolence, favour, and commendacioun.

Thus beseching our Lord to sende you a good and speedie ende of your lang and paynfull trobles as may be most for the ease of your harte, and to your greatest comforte, with humble remembrance of my dew, I end this xxjth of Marche, 1572.—Your L. most humble wif,— A. NORTHUMBERLAND."
Addressed :—" To the right honorable and good L. and husbande, Northumberland."
—*Original in the possession of the Earl of Morton.*

The negotiation was now drawing to a close, as will appear by the following letter from the Regent to the Lard of Loghleven :—" Rycht traist freind,—efter maist hertlie commendatioun, we have spokin with the Marsheall and Mr. Randolphe, quha lettis us to understand, that thay haif instructioun to satisfie zou toward my L. of Northumberland. And for that purpos hes desirit us to write for yow to be heir with diligence, quhilk we think best ye do, for apperandlie zour jorney sall not be without frute : we pray zou, therfoir, expied zou. And sa, remitting all other thing to meting, committis zou in the protectioun of Almichtie God. At Leyth, the xxvij day of Marche, 1572.—Your rycht assurit freind,— JHON REGENT."
—*Original in the possession of the Earl of Morton.*

On the 27 April, 1572, Lord Hunsdon writes, from Berwick, to Lord Burghley :—" I stayde the sendynge of thys letter, lookyng too heare from the Regent, (bothe towching th Erle of Northumberland and the Irish Bishop, who terms himself to be the King of Spaynes servant) which I receyved presently ; whych ys, that tomorrow he wyll send a gentleman unto me to confer with me both of the one and the other. Towching th Erle of Northumberland, they wold gladly have me receave hym att the watersyde beyonde Leethe, or els to receive hym at Leethe, and too hyar some barke theare too bryng hym hythar, which I have refusyed too do ; butt am contentyd to receive hym at Aymouthe, and there to delyver the mony, the whiche I perceave by hym, ytt wyll nott be stuk att ; and therfor I pray your Lordship that order may be taken for the money* to be payde

* The sum agreed upon was £2000. ; and a warrant was granted for that sum " to be delivered to some trusty person, to be conveyed unto the Lord Hunsdon, for the Quenes Majesties affaires, *as he is instructed*."—*Privy Seal Records.*

apon the delyvery of the Erle, for they meane too delyver him very shortly; and they wyll not delyver hym without the money."

On the 1st of May he writes again—"The Regent wishes his life to be spared; and the Bishop of Ross to be given in return. The Regent also requyres *me* too demand th Erle of hym."

On the 7th May he writes—"Mr. Tresorer here cannot helpe with ten pound towards the two thousand." Sir Valentine Brown, the treasurer, also writes to Lord Burghley on the 8th, on the same subjcct.

On the 9th May, Lord Hunsdon writes, that he has received letters from the Regent who—"dare nott send hym hythar"; and to the Queen he writes on the same day that the Regent "sayeth that he cannot take upon hym to delyver the Erle at Aymouth." And Lord Burghley replies on the 14th May,—"If you cannot have the Erle at Aymouth, her Majestie mislyketh not your owne devise to have a shipp or twoo, well prepared; and to receave him in Phife [Fife] as the Regent dothe offer."

Lord Hunsdon writes on the 25th May—"I looke thys weke to have the Erle of Northumberland, or nott at all."

On the 7 June, he writes again to Burghley:—"My very good Lord, yesternight came thythar unto me the Larde of Clyshe, who had delt with me hertofore about th Erel of Northumberland, who declared too mee that he had brought the said Erle too Coldyngham; and was cum to know what tyme I wold reseve hym this day att Aymouthe, as also, bycause ytt wold be tedyus too have the money towld there, that he might tell ytt here and seale yt upp; and so, apon the receyving of th Erle, too delyver the money, too whom I delyvered the money presently too tell, and beyng sealyd up with hys seale, I caryd ytt with me thys mornyng: and, apon the recepte of hym, I delyvered the mony, and so brought hym too thys towne. Ther was one Duglas who had the kepynge of the sayde Erle, under the Lard of Loheleven, too whome the Lord of Clyshe prayd me to bestow sum whatt, as from the Quene, yn respecte of hys carfulnes and seure kepyng hym."

Lord Hunsdon gives him twenty pounds, and expresses a wish that the Queen would give a hundred pounds to the Lard of

Clyshe. "For the Erle," he continues "I have had no great talke with hym; but trewly he semes too follow hys owld humors, reddyar to talke of hawks and hownds than any thing els; very muche abasht and sorrofull, beyng yn grete feare of hys lyfe, and yett reddyar too talke of those vayne matters then otherwyse.....I wold be glad to know how I showld ease hym, and wold fayne be quygly delyvered of hym, yf ytt will please her Mat. that I shall bring hym up. I trust too make hyr a good account of hym, yf not, I shall delyver him safe to any other.

I looke owrly for a dyscharge of the Erle; for, I assure your L. I have slept few quiett sleepes since I had him."

On the 8th Lord Hunsdon writes that Sir Valentine Brown keeps him in his own house.

On the 12th he writes again:—"I receyved your pakket of the 5th, wheryn was the articles too examyn th Erle of, according to the which I went to hym and tooke Mr. Tresorer with me, and examined him; but of the one halfe of them, as though ther had byn no more, whereunto he seemed to be very fearful to answer; not butt that he was very wyllyng to answer truly to them, but by cause he should make so slender answer to many of them, as those he answered truly, yett we wold hardly beleve hym, so with many syrcumstancys he answered them; which, having answered, he required me forasmuch as hys memory was short, and that he wold not wyllyngly consele anything unutteryd, that I wold leve them with hym that nyght and lycense hym to have paper and ynke, which I dyd.

Truly, my Lord, he seemes too be very wyllyng too satysfy hyr Majesty yn any thing he can, and yf hys confessyon be trew, the rebellyon was one of the strangyst matters that hath byn hard of, and pryncypally procurde by Old Norton and Martyngfelld, and ernestly followde by the two wyves, the Countessys."

On the 13th he writes, that the Earl "doth greatly excuse my Lord of Westmerland, and sayeth, playnly, that they could never gett any howld of hym tyll the last ower, and that by procurement of hys wyfe."

When the Queen sent the first articles to Lord Hunsdon, she was not scrupulous as to the means he should employ to procure a full confession: she writes,—"In the dealynge herein, you may use such speches as may justly terrefy hym with all extremite of punishment, if he shall concealle any thyng; and sometyme, as you se cause, you may also comfort hym with some hope, so as it be not in our name, nor by us warranted, if he will utter the truth of every person, without regard to any what soever they be, though he may thynk they be in place of creditt." "As for any chargeable enterteynment of hym in his dyett, we lyk not, considering he is a person attaynted, and by over tendre usage, he may gather comfort to persist in denyall of the truth of things to his knowledge." (*Copy*, 5 *June*, 1572, *S.P.*)

The answers to the first series of interrogatories were now transmitted to Cecil; and other articles of enquiry arising apparently out of the replies, were sent to Lord Hunsdon, to which the Earl was required to answer.

On the 8th of June, Sir Valentine Brown writes to Lord Burghley:—"I can perceyve of hym, he standethe in greate hope of her Majesties marcye, but nothing altered from his olde *Momyshe* oppinyons, which he wolde perswade to be taken for the cause of his rebellion."—*S. P.*

After the lapse of several weeks, Lord Hunsdon received an order, to take the Earl to execution at York; and his indignant reply affords a remarkable proof of his high feeling and gallant bearing:—

"My very good Lord—Thys day syttyng downe too dyner, havyng dyspatcht a pakket nott paste an ower byfor I receyved your Lordships pakket of the 8th, *whyche gave me my dyner*, fyndyng myself hardly delt withall, too be a carryer of any nobellman to executyon, yntoo a place where I have no thyng too do. My charge is butt yn thys towne; and th Este Wardenry; and therfore for me too be putt too bryng hym too Yorke for to be executed, I can neyther thynke that hyr Majesty deales well with me theryn, nor that I have any such frends abowt her Majesty as I accounted of; and sewrly I wyll rather suffer sum ymprysonment then doo yt. Sir John Forster hathe bothe the comodity and proffyt of all hys lands yn Northumberland, and he ys fyttest too have the carryage of hym too York,

and I wyll deliver hym safly att Alnwick,* butt no farther by my wyll; and therefore my Lord, as ever I may thynke ye beare me any good wyll, or that hyr Majesty hathe any consideracon of me, lett sum othar be appointed to receve hym of me, eyther at Alnwyk or Newcastle; and so assuryng your Lordship that the wrytt came to me, *I wyll not styrre hens wyth hym* untyll I have anser from your Lordship agayne. I comytt ye too God. At Berwick, 11th July, 1572."

On the 14th July he writes again to Lord Burghley:—"I receyved your Lordship's letter of the 11th, by the which I fynd alteracon of tyme thats resolved on, touching th Erle; whereof I am nott sorry, for trewly, altho he have justly, by law, deserved to dye, yet, consydering what lose her Majesty shall receive by his dethe, and the syrcumstancys how he was procured too the same, her Majesty hath and doth shew as greate mercy too a nomber that as well deserved too dye as he, without any benefyt to hyr."

* The letter of Sir John Forster to Cecil, on the necessity of attaching the Castles of Alnwick and Warkworth to the charge of the Middle Marches, is worthy of preservation. —"It may please your honour to be advertised, that, as I understand, great sute will be maide for the stewardshippe, rewle and ordering of the castles and landes of the Earl of Northumberland, in this country; wherin I have thought good to say my poore mynde unto vour honor in discharge of my dute. In the tyme of this laite rebellion, I receyved comyssion from my Lo. Lt. to deale by all the waies and meanes I coulde for the getting into my handes the two castelles of Alnwick and Warkworth, whiche I obteyned with some defficulty (p. 108) by resone that they were garded with a good nomber of armede men of th Erles servants and tenantes; and I have since that tyme kept them bothe in saftie for the Q. Majestie; and becaus the saide castelles and landes be within my rule, and wardenry, I have nowe, by further warrant from my said Lo. Lt. the kepinge and ordering of the same for her Majesties use and behoofe, until her highness pleasure be further knowen, in such sorte as Sr Raufe Evers, Sir Robert Bowes, and other Wardens of the middle Marshes in tymes past have had and used the same: not doubtinge but your L. will conseder how necessary and fytt it is to have these two castelles to remayne in her highness hands and possession, in sorte, as hir Majesties most noble father and brother enioyed the same, which they alwaies had for ther officers and wardens of these Marches, whereby they might be able to do the better service; for if her Majestie shulde apoint any man to be her Highnes Lt. or Warden here of the Marches, other then one of this Country, that haith houses of his owne, then haith her Majestie no house here upon the Borders fit for any suche officer to live in, nor yet any sure gaole to punishe offendors other then those two castells, for want whereof I my self have bene much trobled ever since I was her Mat. officer, and have been forcede of laite to desire the gailer of Duresm for the saf kepinge of offenders, and yet they have escaped; how unfit it is that any man being towardes the Erle of Northumberland shulde have the stewardship of those landes or kepinge of those castells considering where th Erle himself nowe presently is, and what practice might be used therin, I doubt not but your H. can consider thereof; and yet have I thought that I colde do no les than to gyve your H. thus muche to understande of the premysses, for the better discharge of my duty, what so ever might ensew hereafter to the contrary of this my good meaning to the advancement of hir Majesties service. And so, humbly taking my leve of your L. I comyt the same to the tewission of Almightie Gode. From Hexham, the xxi daie of Jan. 1569 [70]. Your honors humble to command,
—*Orig.* S. P. JOHN FORSTER.

Lord Hunsdon adds that he will take him to Branspeth or Alnwick, if required.*

On the 20th July, he writes again—"I doo not a lyttell marvell, ther ys no order taken for th Erle of Northumberland."

On the 5th August he writes, that he has received an order from the Council by the pursuyvant, for the delivery of th Erle of Northumberland:—"whereupon I sent presently for Sir John Forster, upon whose coming, God wylling, wee will take such order, as her Majestys pleasure shall be accomplyshed without any great difficulty."

On the 9th Aug. he writes to Burghley, that he is ready to deliver the Earl to Sir John Forster; and that he has received her Majesties letter for the "stay" of him, upon his own discretion, until he shall hear again; and alludes to the rumours afloat, respecting the loyalty of Sir Henry Percy, brother to the Earl.

The Queen continued for some time in her usual "infirmity of purpose" when the lives of noble criminals were at stake. However, the Earl was at length delivered up to Sir John Forster, who took him to York;† where, without having been submitted to any form of trial, the attainder being considered sufficient, he

* In December, 1569, when it was expected that Murray would deliver the Earl to Hunsdon, he writes to Cecil:—"It may be, that whosoever have the karyage of hym (Northumberland) shall have sum what too doo, too bryng hym threw Northumberland, for he must be karyed thurow all hys own tenants, and thuro them that loves hym better then they doo the Quene, and besyds ytt wyl be sum dyscredytt too me; and last of all, yf she wyll have me remayne heare, she must send me wherwithall, for by for God, this jorney hathe cost me £500, and hear ys not £20 too be borrowde yn all thys towne, for the tresorar is away, and the garryson whyche was wont too be payde att Crystmas ys yett unpayde, and Newcastell is bare of money as thys towne, as my Lo. Lt. and Sir Rafe Saddelar can wytnes. *Orig. S. P.*

† When the Earl of Northumberland was brought to Berwick, he was in a state of destitution, and a new suit was provided for him. He was placed in the house of Sir Valentine Brown, the treasurer—in whose accounts from Martinmas 1571 to Martinmas 1572—appeared the following charges relating to him:—

To Edward Merrie, (a wealthy merchant,) for apparel, bought for the Earle of Northumberland, £12, and for the diet and charge of the said Earl, during his imprisonment at Berwick, £109, by estimatt, ...	121	0	0
To the Lord Warden of the middle Marches, for the charge and carriage of the Earl of Northumberland to York, ...	66	13	4

Which latter sum is accounted for in the following statement—

"A Note of the charges of Sir John Forster, Knight, in the conveying of the late Earl of Northumberland to Yorke, and in his retorne with his company back again.

Item—At Alnwick, on Munday at night, ...	13	6	8
For iij post horses from Alnwick to Morpeth on Tuesday, ...	0	3	4
For iij post horses from Morpeth to Newcastle, ...	0	3	4
At Newcastle, on Tuesday at night and Wednesday in the morning, ..	21	6	0
For iij post horses from Newcastle to Durham, ...	0	3	4
For iij post horses from Durham to Darnton, ...	0	3	10

was beheaded on a scaffold in the Pavement, at three o'clock* in the afternoon of the 22nd of August, avowing to the last "the Pope's supremacy, affirming the State to be in a state of schism, and those obedient to Elizabeth no better than heretics." The Spanish account states that he said publicly that "if he had a thousand lives he would give them up for the Catholic faith, in which he died."—(*Apuntamientos, p.* 128): and Fenelon, the French ambassador, writes to the king of France, on the eleventh of September following, that the Earl "was publicly executed in the city of York, not without the regret of many, but without any tumult, for the people there respect the justice

For the charges at Darnton, on Wednesday at night and Thursdaye morning, ...	19	13	0
For iij post horses from Darnton to Toplef, ...	0	5	2
For the charges at Toplef, on Thursdaye at noone, ...	12	0	0
For iij post horses from thence to Yorke on Thursdaye, ...	0	3	8
For the charges at Yorke, from Thursday at night till Satterday at none..	50	0	0
For the charges on Saturdaye at night at Nowbreg and Cuccolde, ..	12	15	0
On Sunday night at Darnton, ...	11	10	0
On Monday night, at Newcastle, ...	12	12	0
Sum total charges, ..	154	11	4
Whereof received from Lord Hunsdon, ..	66	13	4
And so remain that I have paid more and above the sum receved, the sum of ..	87	18	0

Orig. S. P.

The slight error of a shilling in the addition, occurs in the original document.

As post horses are not mentioned on their return, it may be presumed that the unfortunate Earl was conveyed in a carriage, accompanied by a strong guard of horsemen to York.

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* "1572, this year the 22nd of August, the Earl of Norhumberland was beheaded on a scaffold in the Pavement, his face towards the south; his head was smitten off with a broad carpenters axe. His head was set on a very high pole, on the top of Micklegate Barr; but his body was buried in Crux church, by two of his servants and three women, in St. Thomas's quire, where he now lies, without any memorial. —*M. S. History of York written by Thomas Beckwith, F. S. A., now in the possession of William Hudson, Esq., of York.*

The Earl "thanked Mr. Askwith, the Sheriff, afterwards Lord Mayor, for his kindness, for it was through his means that the earl's body was buried in his, the Sheriff's, parish church of St. Crux, without any memorial, in St. Thomas's quire; one of Askwith's relations having been a domestic of the noble Earl. He then spoke a few words privately to one Woodburne, his servant, and immediately submitted to the executioner. His face was placed facing the south, and his head was cut off with a broad carpenter's axe; and the people departed, being mostly grieved at the death of one who, as it were, was a cityzen amongst them, having divers houses in the city, and lands in the county; no one attending his funeral, save two men and three maid-domestics, and a stranger in disguise, who, causing suspicion, immediately fled. —*M.S. in the possession of William Paver, Esq., of York, in whose family it has been long preserved.*

Anno Dni. 1572, Sr Thoms Pearsey, Erle, was buryed the 22nd of August.—*St, Crux Register, York.* And in St. Margaret s register, Walmgate—Dominus Perecie decollatus erat 22d die Augusti.

and authority of the Queen. It is true," he adds, "that great blame has been cast upon the Scots (*Ascoucoyes*) on this disgraceful act, who, contrary to ancient observance between the two kingdoms, sold the life of this nobleman who had taken refuge amongst them."*

The following letter, however, written on the spot by Sir Thomas Gargrave to Lord Burghley, must naturally be considered as the most authentic testimony:—

"My bounden deuty humble remembred to your honour: yt may please the same to be advertysed, that so furre as may appere by any talke or doyngs of the late Erle of Northumberland, at or before his dethe, he contynewed obstynate in relygyon; and declared he wold dye a catholyke of the Popes churche. He accompted his offence nothynge, and especyally after he knewe he shold dye; but before he seemyd to confesse he had offendyd, and wold qualyfye yt, seyynge he dyd that he dyd by compulsion, and for feare of his lyffe. He confessyd he was reconcylyd to the Pope: he affermyd this realme was in a scysme, and that al were sysmatykes; he sayd here was neither petye nor mercy. In his talk with dyvers, he namyd himselfe "symple Thome"; and sayd "symple Tome must dye to sett up crewell Henry." At his dethe he wyshyd his brother to be of his relygyon; and then yf he had hys lyvynge, he trystyd he wold pay his dettes, and helpe his chyldren and servantes.

He dyd not here, either pray for the Quenes Ma^tie^. nor even wyshed her well, nor yet wold confesse he had offendyd her Ma^tie^. wherat many was offendyd, and thoyght he had no deutyfull consyderation of her Ma^tie^.; and, on the other syde, the styf neckyd papystes rejocyd moche of his stedfastnes in ther crede of popyshe relygyon. I beseche the Almyghty to preserve the Quenes Ma^tie^. and al good subjectes from theyr decetfull and crewell practyses, the wyche, in my openyon, they intend, ye tyme wold serve.

They have to moche lybertye and scope; and waxe herd hertyd, wylfull and stoborne. The L. resyste theyr malyce, and defende his electe, and al the good and Crystyne people.

And thus besechyng your honour to beare with my boldnes I cease to troble you, humble besechynge the Almyghty long to preserve your good L. in helth and honor.

* *Unpublished dispatches, Archives de France.*

From Yorke, in hast, the xxiij of August, 1572." *Orig. M.S. Cott. Calig. C. III. f.* 381.

Thus perished, ignominiously, on the scaffold, Thomas Percy, seventh Earl of Northumberland, in the full vigour of his age. He appears to have been fully aware of the diffiiculties and dangers of the undertaking; and his confessions would tend to show that he was an unwilling participator, when vigorous action became necessary.

In an enterprise, where a change of the government was evidently in contemplation, no wavering nor indecision should appear, and the scabbard should be at once thrown away.

The halt at Clifford Moor was portentous—but the first retrograde movement was fatal; for his deluded followers, having once retreated, their moral force was lost, and they fell,—

"Like a bright exhalation in the evening,"

an easy prey to the forces of the Queen, led on by the cautious and vigilant Sussex.

"Most shallowly did you these arms commence,
Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence."

ADDITIONS.

The poverty and embarrassment* of the Earl is fully proved by the following letter, written at the time when Elizabeth proposed (as she states in her letter to the Earl of Rutland) to meet the Queen of Scots, "about Bartholemew next, either at York, or on this side of Trent:"—

To the Earl of Pembroke. "My owne good lorde,—I have receyved the Quene Maiesties letters of the xvith of this instant, wherein it appereth I am appointed to mete the Quene of Skotland, at Barwick, or at the bridge thereof, and conducte her to the water of Tyes. My lorde, I think it is not unknowin unto you, my poore estate, and unabilitie for the furnishing of myself at suche a tyme, and muche the worse for the service I was lately in, in the Northe partes, which as yet is far unrecovered, besids my debtes unto the Quenes Majestie, and many others; I also doubte whether it is ment I shuld receive the said Quene of Scotes at my house at Alnwick, which is uterlie unfurnished, and not so much as one bed, or any parte of household stuff; nor cannot conveniently be, by reason my wief hopeth in God for a good hour in August; and chefelie, being nowe in so grete want of monie, that I assuer your L. I have not forty pounds. Which things considered, forceth me thus boldlie to trouble your L. as my dere freind, in sekinge meanes as best shall seme to your wisdome, that I might be excused of this jorney, like as my will is as redy in this or anie other thing I shal be appoincted to by

* In "*Nortons Warning*" the Earl of Northumberland's personal embarrassments are strongly alluded to.—"The one you see hardly beareth the countenance of his estate with his small portion of that which his ancestors sometime had and lost; his dayly sales and shiftes for necessitie, even then when he hadde lesse charge than to maintaine an army, both in Sussex and elsewhere, are well knowen: such power as he hath had and used in those partes about you, is to be ascribed to her Maieaties authoritie, under whome he served, which is now bent against him; otherwise neither his pollicie greate to rule or redresse a realme, nor yet to espie the true faultes, much lesse the remedie, an unfitte judge of religion, and a very evill chosen chastiser of disordered lyfe."

the Quenes Majestie, as any poore man in England. Even so, in good faiethe, and of my honestie, I am so uterlie unfurnished for such respect, and in suche povertie, that causeth me thus to declaier the same unto your L. and that it maie be weyed and used accordingly. And if it be that her Majestie will in no waies excuse me, but that I shall procede according to her former determinacon, I must nedes seke thus muche at hir highnes handes, humblie to request her to disburs unto me a thousand pounds, or more, if it may be conveniently granted; and I shall enter into bonds for the paiment thereof—th one half to be paied at Whitsontide next, and th other half that daie twelvemonth; otherwise in good faieth I knowe not what shift I shal be able to maik, for my lande is so, I cannot sell one fot therof, without her Majesties license, which, if I could, it shuld be packing willinglie, in any hir highnes service. And, if so be, it may be thought good by her Majestie and you, with others of her Counsell, that that turne maie be served with others, then I wold be glad, ether if it shall plese hir highnes to attend hir Majestie frome London, or otherwise in the Country where I nowe dwell, in the best manner I can, to the uttermost of my power. And thus, requiring youe that I may knowe your L. plesure herein, with all spede: I committ your L. to th Almightie God. Frome Sir Edward Dymmocks, in my jorney home, from Norwiche, this xxith of June, 1562.—Your good and assured loving cousin, T. NORTHUMBERLAND."
—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl was not put to the severe trial which he so much deprecated; for the Earl of Pembroke and Cecil informed him, in reply, that it was only meant that he should attend the Queen of Scotts from place to place, for "your lordship must nedes be the person that shall receive her in Northumberland, because of the estate that you hold, to be Earl of Northumberland."—*Copy, S. P.*

The projected meeting, however, never took place.

When the Queen of Scotts was obliged to fly from her kingdom, and landed at Workington, within the liberties of Cockermouth, the Earl of Northumberland, in his letter to the Queen (quoted p. 318) concludes thus: "humbly submytting my service and loyaltye to be *imploid* at your Majesties direction and com-

mandment, I end with my praier unto Almightie God, long to prosper you." On the following day, however, he procured from the Council of York, an order to "the Sheriffe, Justices of Peace, and gentlemen of our countye of Cumberland, and to everie of them," to the following tenor:—

"By the Quene.—Trustie and wel beloved, we grete you well. And for as muche as we be informed that our sister, the Scotishe Quene, is arryved within our realme, at Wyrkington, in our county of Cumberland, within the lordship and segnory of our right trustie and right wel beloved cosyn, the Earl of Northumberland; who hathe alreadie sent certen gentlemen honorablie to see to her enterteynment and safe keping in this our realm, untill our pleasure shal be further knowen. This is, therefore, to wil and commande you and everie of you, as you shal be appoynted by our sayd cousin, the Earl of Northumberland, to se her and hir companye well and honorably used, as to everie of them apperteynethe; and also to see them in safetye, that they, nor any of them, eskape from you, untill you shall have knowledge of our further pleasure therein.

Wherof we pray you not to fayle, as we speciallye truste you, and as ye will answer to the contrary at your perilles. Geven under our signet, at our citie of Yorke, the xixth daye of Maye, the tenthe yeare of our reign."—*Copy, S.P.*

Richard Lowther, however, deputy warden to Lord Scroop, (who was absent,) having heard of the arrival of Mary, set out, on the 17th, to meet her, and found her at Cockermouth. On the following day, he conducted her to Carlisle, where he lodged her safely in the Castle; and, in his letter to Cecil on that day, says:—"Her Graces attyer is verie meane, and, as I can learne, hathe not any better, neither other wherwith to change; so as doubting that hir highness treasure dyd not much surmounte the furnyture of hir robes, I dyd not onlie gyve order for the defraying of her chardges at Cockermouth, but also dyd frelie provyd them geldings far the convoying of hir highness and her trayne. Wherefore I beseche your honor, if yt shall please the Quenes Majestie, to have her make repayre to the Court, that you will advertise howe and in what maner..... The Quene, synce her arryvall here, hath had intelligence that the

Regent meaneth to execute some gentlemen, her true subjects taken at the late conflicte: whereat her highnes being trobled, this night, at supper, with teares uttered, that hir trust was, if God should presentlie call her, yet wold either her good sister, the Quenes Majestie of England, or her friends in France, revenge her cause."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl of Northumberland was extremely indignant at the conduct of Lowther; he immediately proceeded to Carlisle, and the interview is well described by the deputy warden, in a letter to Lord Scroop:—

"Yesterdaye arryved the sayd Erle (of Northumberland), and I attending on him by the waye: he declared that his repayre was for the conducting of the said Quene; which I said, I might not departe from without verie good authoritie; wher upon, after he had used some roughe woordes towardes me, adding too, that I was too meane a man to have suche chardge, and that he marveyled howe I durste take it in hande. He desired to speake with the Quene, whereunto as I agreyd, so he seamed to be satisfied, but afterwards he sent for me to his lodging, and upon those letters to the sheriffe and justices, demanded delyverie of the said Quene; whereunto I answered, that those letters were not directed to me, nor coulde be my discharge, neither (if they had bene to me addressed) I wolde not have delyvered suche especyall a chardge, without a specyall discharge.

Wher upon my L. growing into some heat and angre, gave me great threatnings, with many evill woordes, and a like language; calling me "varlett," and suche others as I neither desserved at his handes, neither looked for at anye mans, for the servyce of the prynce." Carlisle, 22nd May.—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl afterwards complained to Sir Francis Knolles; who, in a letter to Cecil, from Richmond, 27th May, 1568, says, —"My Lord of Northumberland, yesterday, hearing of my coming, came from his howse at Toplife, and mett me on the way, a this sied Boroghbrigg; and, with him, Sir Nicholas Fairfax, and Sir William Fairfax, his soone, Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Vavasor, being all unsounde in religion, and with his L. at Carlisle. At the first, his L. complayned unto me of the deputie wardens misusage of him, saying that he wolde not

suffer his Lordship to repaire unto the castel, to see the Quene, with any more companie then his page; not onelie to his dishonour, but as thoghe he had bene a stranger, and a suspected person. Wheareunto I answered his L. verie plainlie, that if he soghte to take the Quene into his owne custodie oute of the deputie wardens hands, and that withoute warrante, as his personall repaire to the Queen of Scotts also was without warrant at the Quene our mistres hands; then did the deputie warden dutifullie and wieslie; and his L. had overshott himselfe verie muche to the discontentation of her highnes. Whearunto he answered for the excuse of his repayre, that he thoght him selfe bounde in dutie, for the honor of the Quenes highnes, our mistress, to repaire into Commerland, wheare his bande lay, for the defence of the Quene of Skotts, againste the pursuite of her enemies; and for his desier to have the custodie of the Quene, he saithe, he did desier it not onelie because the deputie warden was too base a man to have such a chardge; but also the Councell of York had geven him letters of aucthoritie to the sherife and justices of Commerland, to assiste in that behalf;—but I told his L. that altho the Council of York had forgotten themselves verie muche, to apointe the assistence of the shire to any other then to the deputy warden, or to allow of the repare of your L. to the Quene of Scotts, before her highnes special pleasure knowen in that behalf; yet Mr. Gargrave denied the geving of aucthoritie to your L. to interrupt the warden in any part of his charge.—Richmond, 27th May, 1568."—*Orig. S. P.*

In the year of the rebellion, Lord Sussex appears to have lived on terms of intimacy and familiarity with the Earls, for he writes to Cecil on the 26th of March, 1569:—

"My Lord Harbarte and my ladye be nowe here; and for that his L. will tary but a whyle, I have sent for my L. of Northumberland and my L. of Westmerland, to mete with us on Mundaye, at Sir Nicholas Fayrefax howse, and so, with horse races, hunting, and hawking, to make his lordship the beste chere and sport we can; from place to place, for the short tyme he meanethe to tarrye in the countrye."—*S. P.*

And even so near the rising as the 15th of Sept. 1569, he writes again:—

"My lord of Northumberland, and my lady, my lord of Westmerland, my lord Talbott, and my lady, my lady Harberte, my lady Wharton, and all the principall gentlemen and there wyfes, of this countrie, were here with me a hunting all the last week. And, after dyvers matches of shoting made amongste us, and shotte; it fortuned that this bearer, my servant, Anthony Hanmer, in shoting of a match when the Lords and I were in a feld adioyning abowte other matches at bowles, strake his awne man, that gave him ayme, into the head with a prickstaffe, in the presence of gret numbers of gentlemen and other people thus assembled, wherof he is now ded. The shafte was well shott towards the marke, and his man that gave ayme, desyrous to see his master wynn, wold not avoyde when he was willed by crying to from both the marks, but wilfully and fondly abode at the marke, where he was so hurte, and is ded by his wilfulness. This myschaunce troubled greatlye the hole companie; and the poore gentleman, knowing the extremytie of the lawe, is much dismayed. I shall, therefore, most hartely praye you to be a meane to the Quene, to obtayn at my humble sute, his pardon, with a clawse of restitution, as shall be most benefycyall for him; wherin her Majestie shall shewe me greate favor, and you do me grete plesure, and so muche the more, for that the mysfortune happened at my awne howse, in such assemble. Cawood, 15th Sept. 1569."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl's letter to the Queen.—Lord Sussex writes to Cecil —"Sir, I receyved, even now, letters from my lord of Northumberland, to the Quenes Majestie, which I send you herewith (see p. 320); for that by his letters to me he requireth they may be sent awaye with speed;—I perceyve by that he sent to me they bere date at Toplyff, but he is in dede at Bransby.

I thynke the Quenes Majesties letters were delyvered to him yesterdaye, which in two owers after he sent away these to me, and I look for the returne of the berer of them this day before none, wherwith I wyll wryt to you at more length; in the mean tyme I have sent away his letter with these.—In haste, at Yorke, the xvth of Nov. at iij in the morning, 1569."

THE

COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

" This lordis wyfe socht to Lord Home,
As Leonard Dakeris, and many mo,
Quhome all the gold in Christendome
Wald not have movit to sell thame so:
Ye knaw quhat hairme he hes susteind,
For that he trewlie thame manteind.

The Erle of Sussex can recoird,
Quhen he desyrit thame of his hand,
The generous answer of that lord,
That he maid to his schairpe demand,—
Said he wald rather give his heid,
Or he sould do so vyil a deid."

Maitland's Poems, v. 2, p. 226.

Anne, Countess of Northumberland, was the daughter of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester.

She was rigidly attached to the " old religion," and took an active share in the toils of the Rebellion; attended her husband in the advance of the rebel army; and suffered all the indignities which were inflicted upon her by the outlaws.*

Her extreme destitution is stated in a letter from Alleyne Kinge, servant to Sir Henry Percy, to his master, who writes—that Robert Shafto had come from the Earl, to ask his advice, &c.; and continues—" My lady of Northumberland hathe her hartely comended unto youe, who craveth and desyreth of your counsell in the behalfe of my L. My lady lyeth as yet at Fern-

* " The laird of Ormestoun being at the Horne, for the Kingis slauchter, and his pairtakeres, spoulzeist the said Erle of Northumberlanddis hous, and his wyff of all hir jewellis, her cleithing, and poise. It is said thaj spoulzeit her of XXXxx of Portingal ducatts, with all his abulzementis, and cleithing perteyning to him and her. Efter this the said Erles wyfe was intertenyt be Alexander, Lord Home, honourablie."—*Occurrents.*

hurst ; but the L. Hume hath gotten lycens for her to come to him when she wyll. She myght have accesse to my L. (Northumberland) to Edenbrough, butt she thynketh nott so good as yet, tyll she have some more warrant from the L. Regyont ; for that she, beyng at lyberty, she is abull to make some shyfte for my L. nowe, and hathe allredy sent home to her frends, as, to my L. of Worster and to other of her frends. Her request is also, that yf yowe wold send some trusty man of your own to my L. and her, you might pleasure them veary muche ; and they would discourse unto him of such thyngs as are yet in safty, which myght be nowe to ther releaves, or, at the least, yt myght come to your hands. Farther, my lady wold that yowe shold understand that *the dysagreement that was amongst themsealfes was the cause of this ther mishappe*, and ill fortune to sever and flye..... My L. Regyont was onse on the waye to have fetched my lady of Northumberland from the L. of Fernehurst, but he turned backe agayne..... My lady of Northumberlands earnest request is for your counsell..... My lady of Northumberland hathe sent to my lady, and earnestly desyreth her to send her some apparell, as she is destytute bothe of wollen and lynnyne." Tinmouthe, 6th Jany.

Lord Hunsdon writes to Cecil, on the 3rd of Jan.—" I thynke the Countess wold be contentyd too submyt hyrselfe too the Quenes mercy, yf I had awtoryte too receve her ; send me your advyse, yf she offer hyrself."

His Lordship, about this tyme, had written a letter to her ; and its tendency may be gathered from her reply :—

"My verie good lord,—I have receved your compfortable lynes towchinge mi selfe, which ame alltogether in as evell case as you judge of hit ; not for the miserie of my owne boddy, but that I can not be as I had thought never to have bynne in the presence of my husband, which I had thought never to have bynne separated from till deathe. Yt was not for my offences that I fled, or feare of the Quene Majesties mercye ; for I never hard, nor understande but her mercye hath byne as grete as ever was anye prynces, and suerlie in my judgment, that is one of the spetiall causes that upholds all estates. For your frendshippe and good will towards me, I shall earnestlye praye your

lordship, of your continewance therein, and if I live, it shall not be forgotten, and if I dye I trust God will reward you; praing your lordship earnestlye agayne, that the pittie and favour that you shewe unto me, that you will shewe hit uppon my poore childeren and servants, to be a meane to the Quenes Majestie for them; if hit maye please you, without offence, to give me leave, you shall hear from me within six or seven daies. And so I bid your L. hartelye farewell. From Hewme Castle, the vijth of January, 1569-[70]."—*Copy, S. P.*

Constable,* in a letter to Sir R. Sadler, v. 2, p. 120, (12 Jan.) says, the Earl of Westmorland told him, at Fernihurst, that lady Northumberland had "receaved a favorable lettre and a frendly, from my lord of Hunsden, to this effect; willing her to come to him, and she should have all the frendship he could shew her, and willed her not to doubt, that the Quenes Majestie who never was cruel to any, would begin to shew hir cruelty upon her—being a gentlewoman."

The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Queen; and Lord Hunsdon was called upon for an explanation. He writes to Cecil, as follows:—

"Touching my letter to the Countess, I trust hyr Majestie doothe not forgett that, at my departure, she gave me credytt to

* In addition to the note on Constable (p. 147) may be added the following letter from the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon to Cecil, dated—Coventry, 14th Dec. 1569:—"After our hearty commendations—These are to let you understand, that this day came unto this towne, two gentlemen, named Robert Constable and William Constable; the first, my Lord of Leicesters man, as he saithe, th other, th old Erle of Westmerlands, but nowe no mans servant, as he telleth us. They were going towards Northumberland, but we have thought good to staie them, till we here from you again, for he that is my L. of Leicesters man saithe he hathe *matier* committed to him for the service of her Majestie, wherof only my Lord of Leicester and Sir Walter Mildmay be privy, as he saithe. Of the matier whatsoever yt be, he hath told us no more then we do write. They came, as they say, out of Glostershire, and mynded to passe by Carlisle." Coventry, 14th Dec. 1569.

As Constable was allowed to pursue his journey, it may be reasonably concluded that Cecil was fully informed of the immediate object of his mission.

"The Lady Dorothy Constable, elder daughter of Thomas, first Lord Fairfax, and widdow of Sr William Constable, of Holme, in the East Rydinge of the county of York, baronett, dyed the nynth day of March, 1655-6, and was buryed the eleaventh, in the middle and upper part of the great quier, near the place wher their only child was interred 1608. And the said Sr William Constable dyed in Westminster, the tenth day of June next precedinge, and he was buryed in the chappel built by King Henry the Seventh, within the said abbay."—*St. Mary, Bishophill, Senior, York, Register.*

The following honorable testimony may be added to the note, respecting Sir Robert Constable, p. 33, Lord Burgeley writes to Mr. F. Walsingham—"I must have a warrant from her Majestie, for the grant of Chopwell, wher in dede ther is great quantitie of tymber, that was specially preserved for the fortification of Barwyke; but I spek it not to hynder the benefitt of Mr. Constable, who deserveth truly as great a gift. 29 Oct. 1578."—*S. P.*

euse my dyscresyon any way for hyr servys; wherapon, ymmedyatly after my cummynge hythar, th Erle of Westmerland, and the rest beyng so secretly kept as no man cowld gett serten knoledge wher they wer; and hearynge sertenly wher she was, and serten of them with her, I thowght I cowlde euse no better meane then too make sum arrant too hyr. And so I wrott a few lynes too hyr, the coppy whereof I send ye, as also the coppy of her letter to me; and by this means I gatt parfytt knolege wher they wer all, as also, of her removynge to Hewme, wherof I dyd presently advertyse the Regent, wherof he had no serten knolege byfore; for bothe Farnhurst and Bukklewh had denyed the havynge of any of them too the Regent; and thys was the cawse of my sendynge too her, wheryn I trust I have gyven her Majesty no just cawse of offence." Barwyk, 24th Jan. 1569-[70.] —*Orig. S. P.*

How long the Countess remained under the hospitable roof and safeguard of Lord Hume does not appear; but, on the 10th of June following, Randolph writes, that "the ladie of Northumberland lyeth in Old Aberdyne, in the chancellors howse, placed by the Lord Seton; and, as yt is sayde, hears masse dayly": and he writes, on the 21st June, to the Earl of Sussex, from Stirling, that, "the ladie of Northumberland remayneth in Olde Aberdene, placed by the Lord Seton." And shortly afterwards, as appears by a letter from the Earl of Sussex to Cecil, dated 3rd Sept. 1570, at Streatlam, he states, that on the 23rd of August, "the Countess of Northumberland, accompanied with the Lord Seaton, &c. tuke shipping at Old Aberdeen, in a ship called the '*Port of Leith.*'"—*S. P.*

Sir Henry Cobham writes, from Antwerp, to Cecil, 4th Sept. 1570, that the Countess of Northumberland, with the Lord Seton, arrived at Bruges, on the 31st of August.—*Galba, c. iv.*

On her arrival in Flanders she suffered great privation; and Lord Seton states, in a letter to the Queen of Scotts (19th Sept. 1570) that the Countess of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland "have nether penny nor half-penny."

The Queen of Scotts wrote to the Duke of Alva, in favor of the Countess; and her immediate and strenuous exertions were directed to obtain the liberation of her husband from Lochleven.

She entered into correspondence with the Duke, in favor of the Queen of Scotts, and the Roman Catholic religion; but her remonstrances and supplications were unsuccessful; and neither the Duke nor the King (Philip) appeared inclined to render that active assistance which she considered the emergency to require.

In the King's letter to the Duke of Alva, (6th Jan. 1571-2) on the subject of the required assistance in arms and money, he cannot see his way sufficiently to come to any decision thereon; and recommends Alva to continue the negotiations, without prejudice to the Queen of England, having especial regard that the country does not fall into the hands of an unfriendly prince; and that the Catholic religion may be preserved and restored—which are the two points to be held principally in consideration (*Archives des Pays-Bas, Bruxelles*).*

In the "remonstrance" of the Countess of Northumberland, she states, that a strong party exists in Lancashire,† ready to

* The papers quoted from the archives, at Bruxelles, lately discovered, consist of letters from the Duke of Alva to the King, with his answers; reports from England and Scotland; a remonstrance of the Countess of Northumberland; a letter from the Earl of Huntley, &c. These transcripts, which have been but slightly noticed here, will be used with advantage and discrimination by Prince Alexandre Labanoff, in his forthcoming Life of Mary, Queen of Scotts.

† On the subject of Lancashire, Sir F. Leek writes to Cecil, on the 20th Dec. 1569,—"Althoghe I do truste sertenly ther ys no dowtte in the fidelytye of *Lankeshyer*, wherof the Earl of Derbye, as I heare, for hys parte, hathe lately made good proffe; yet, consyderynge the late facsyons which have, within these two yeres, growed in that cuntrey, as well for folyshe opynyons of relygyon as other comon acsyons betwen th Earle of Derbye and others, ytt restethe dowtfull that all the keyes of Lankeshyer do not presentlye hange att the Earle of Derbyes *owlde gyrdell*.—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earl of Derby was certainly considered by the Earls as friendly to their enterprise though the following letter to the Queen is of a directly contrary tendency:—

"My moste humble and obedient dutie unto your Majestie.—Hit may please the same to understande, that, of late, I receyved letters from my verrey good L. the Erle of Sussexe, wherebie he gave me advertisement that th Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland were, contrarie to their dutie of allegiance, in open rebellion against your Majestie; and withall, that, amongs others of the nobelite, thei used slaunderose reports of me, and also to feede suche of the symple sorte as they had treyned to enterprice with theym such heynose offence, they vaunte of aide (they sey) they loke to receyve from this your Majesties countie of Lankaster; and as theise and suche lyke speches be comonlie used amongs rebelles to treyne suche on, as wolde not otherwise then with suche devises be ledde forward: so am I, in my moste humble and dutifulle wise, to beseche your Majestye, notwithstandynge any report made by theym or any other, to thynke of me, that I shall use all care and diligence to cutte offe all such hoope of aide from hence, as shuld anie waie comfort theym in thys heynose enterprice. And, for that purpose, have used comandement in your Majesties name, to the chiefeste gentilmen in thys countie, and do not understande but that your Majesties subjects here remayne in dewe and good obedience towards your Majestie. So restyng with my service assured at your M. comandement to be used in what sorte may beste please the same, do beseche th Almyghtye to make you victoriouse over your enemyes, and grant your M. long and prosperous reign.—From Latham, my house the xxiiijth of November 1569.—*Orig. S. P.*

declare in favor of the "olde religion." She expresses her thanks to the Duke, for his offer of recommendation to the King; and states, that her poverty is well known to all Catholic princes; and that, in the fulfilment of her duty towards God, she submits, without murmuring, to the deprivation of her husband's company, the absence of her children, banishment from her country, and the loss of her estates and property.

The allowance she received from the King was one hundred crowns a month; granted, not only on her own account, but in favor of those of the Catholic religion who had fled from their country and were supported by her.—*Duke of Alva's letter, 5th Feb.* 1570-1.

She was at Mechlin, in 1572, when she is stated by Fitzwilliam, to be a "principal practiser." In the same year, her brother, Edward, Earl of Worcester, was sent ambassador to the French King; and he is commended for his dutifulness and discreet usage of his sister, by refusing all messengers and messages sent from her; and he "willed her to forbear to repair to him."—*Digges, Compleat Ambassador.*

In 1574, she was at Bruxelles; and Dr. Wilson (14th March,) writes to Lord Burghley, that, by his means, the Countess and all the refugees, had received warning to depart, within fifteen days; which they "all did take verie heaveley as a thing unlooked for."

In 1575, she was living at an abbey, within two miles of Liege (*Murdin, p.* 293); and, in 1576, she was in communication with Don John, in favor of the Queen of Scotts.—*S. P.*

In one of her last letters, she regrets the loss of father Parsons and Sir John Nevill; and expresses great apprehension for the continuance of her pension.

Her name seldom occurs afterwards; but she continued unceasing in her endeavours to stimulate the interference of Catholic princes, in favor of the Queen of Scotts, and to advance the progress of the Catholic religion.

On the dispersion of the English exiles,—conscious of the utter hopelessness of the completion of her wishes—living in a foreign land by sufferance, and dependant on the precarious bounty of a foreign prince—attainted—her husband executed—

separated from her children, and disowned by her family—the remainder of her life must have been a constant scene of unavailing regret; but

"God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."

Human fortitude would have sunk under such accumulated sorrows, but for the resignation which ever accompanies the active practice and exercise of the duties of piety and religion.

In a MS. belonging to the English Benedictine Dames, (formerly at Bruxelles, now at Winchester,) printed in the Catholic Magazine, for August, 1838, she is stated to have "received very *noble* entertainment from his Catholic Majesty; and so lived many years, with good edification, and much esteem for her piety and wisdom"; and, from the same authority, she is stated to have died at Namur, on the 17th of October, 1596.

The Children of the Earl and Countess were of "tender age," at the time of the rebellion; and Sir Henry Percy, their uncle, writes to the Earl of Sussex, that,—"Passing by the younge ladys, I founde them in harde case, for nether had thay any provisione, nor one peny to relyve them with, but sume lyttel thynge frome me. Thay wolde gladly be removyde, ther wante of fier is so grett, whos yeres may nott well suffer that lacke." 9th Jan. 1569-70.—*Calig. b.* 9, 417.

Their only son, Thomas, died young; and, of their four daughters, Elizabeth married Richard Wodroffe,* of Wolley, co. York, esq. [In the month of June, 1604, James I. granted her a pension of £50. per annum, for life, being "one of the daughters of the late Earl of Northumberland."]"—*Privy Seal.* Lucy married Sir Edward Stanley, of Eynsham, co. Oxon. K. B.

* The great grand-daughter of this match married John Paver, whose lineal descendant, William Paver, of York, esq. dedicates his time and his labours to the successful study of genealogy, whose obliging kindness and kind assistance have been frequently experienced in the compilation of these memorials.

Jane was the wife of Lord Henry Seymour; and Mary, (who on the authority of the MS. quoted p. 349) was born on the 11th of June, 1570. After the death of the Countess, she "came into the low countries, to take possession of what was left her by her mother, but more by her desire to dedicate herself to the service of Almighty God, in holy religion, having formerly vowed virginity, and also to be religious;" and became the founder of the Benedictine Dames, at Bruxelles.

SIR HENRY PERCY,

THE EIGHTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

He was the younger brother of Thomas, seventh Earl of Northumberland, and his successor in his dignities.

At an early age he was actively employed on the borders; and was a deputy warden in 1557, when he purchased the government of Norham Castle, from Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, for three hundred pounds; who, being called upon by the Queen to account for his conduct, states, that his father left great debts; that he was also embarrassed; and that he could not remain, but to his "utter undoynge." He expresses his willingness to return the money to Percy; and declares that "there is no poore man intends trewer to your hignes."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Queen (Mary) replied, that Norham was bestowed upon him in the hope that he would keep it during his life, and reside there continually; and understanding, by his letting it to Clavering, and now selling it to Percy, that he makes a merchandise and matter of gain of it, without respect to the surety of the place, or her service; she, therefore, desires he will either occupy the office, and keep his residence continually there "according to the good custom heretofore used," or else freely leave it as he received it, to some other person that may be thought mete for it, and will continue upon it." 31st January, 1557-8.—*S. P.* Norton probably resigned Norham; and the Queen sanctioned the appointment of Sir Henry Percy.

In 1558, he is mentioned, in conjunction with Sir George Bowes, as leading predatory excursions into Scotland, and of having burnt the towns of "Duns and Langton."—*Holinshed's Scotland, p.* 362.

On the 28th June, 1559, he writes to Cecil, from Alnwick, soliciting to be appointed governor of Tynmouth Castle:—"I most humble desier you to have in remembrance my poore estate, and how letell I am able to mainteyne myself in the Quene Majesties affaires."—*S. P.*

Shortly afterwards, Sadler writes to Cecil, 5th Nov. 1559, from Berwick, that Percy had let the office and profits of Norham to Clavering,

The charge of Tynmouth Castle was conferred upon him, by patent, 13th Dec. 3 Eliz. (1560); and he continued to hold Norham, though he fixed his residence at Tynmouth.

On the 17th May, 1562, he writes to Cecil, promising to aid him in procuring his sister-in-law, (a daughter of Lord Latimer) whose "lyke is rare to be founde," for "my cousin, your sonne"; and, expressing an anxiety for the alliance, he adds, "wysse men lettes not maters sleepe; she is of yeres rype."—*Orig. S. P.*

In 1563, it appears, that the Archbishop of York intended to complain to the Queen, of the "evell and misorderde" life of Percy's father-in-law, Lord Latimer, who had nearly run through, with his rapier, one of Sir Charles Danbie's men; and the Archbishop's object was to show, that he was not a "man of government." Sir Henry, therefore, applied to Cecil, praying that, if his Lordship should be placed under restraint, that he may have the charge of him; and to "have in remembrance my poore ability and levinge, and in what uncertenty that I have, standethe in." Jan. 12, 1563.—*Orig. S. P.*

At this time, the castle of Tynmouth appears to have been used as a state prison; for, on the 24th Jan. 1563-4, Sir Henry Percy informs the lords of the council,* that he has

* "To the Lords of the Councill—Yt may please your honorable Lordships to understande, that this presente daye I have receyved, at the handes of Mr. Val. Brown, tresorer of Berwick, the Erle Bothwell, the which I shall do my endeavour to kepe in salfe custody unto your further pleasure be knowen therin. And, for that my chardge, by reasone of the shēreffewick, this yere shall enforce me many tymes to be absente my selfe, as also my ser-

received from Valentine Brown, the Earl of Bothwell; to keep in safe custody.—*Orig. S. P.*

On the 27th April, 1564, the Earl of Bedford writes to Cecil, that he is going, shortly, to Sir H. Percy, to "cristen him a child," his house being at Tynemouth, beside Newcastle. [This child would, no doubt, be Henry, the ninth Earl, born 21st of April, 1564.]

On the 26th Sept. 1568, Sir Henry writes to Valentine Brown, treasurer of Berwick, from Tynmouth, thanking him for his offer of assistance of men, in case of need.—*Orig. S. P.*

In the articles of enquiry, made by the Duke of Norfolk, in 1568, of the warden of the East Marches; it is stated, that Sir Henry holds Norham Castle, but is dwelling at Tynemouth.

vants, in affairs of the said office, I shall humbly desier your L. opinion whether he shall be straitelie kept, withoute libertie, or else to have such resonable easement, as, by the guardemente of foure, or sixe persons, may sufficientlie discharge the same. 24 Jan. 1563.

He again writes to Cecil, that "Bothwell is very wise, and not the man whiche I had report of." 13 Feb. 1563.

On the 10th March, following, he is released by Sir John Forster, who states that he "haithe in all the tyme of his abode here, behaved himself as to him hath apperteined."

The chequered life of Bothwell is a matter of history; but the following details of his end will be read with interest:—

"In the month of August or September, 1567, the Danish Commander, Christen Aalberg, (or Olborrig) carried into Bergen two armed Scottish Pinks, which had no maritime passes. Among the seamen was found a man in the tattered clothes of a boatswain, who pretended to be the husband of the Queen of Scotland, and Regent of the Kingdom. Papers were likewise found in the hold, shewing that this man was Earl of Bothwell, created by the Queen Duke of Orkney. The Commander in chief, of the two Pinks, was found to be David Woth, a notorious pirate, who had most probably captured one of the Pinks from a Bremen merchant. Among Bothwell's papers was also discovered, a warrant for the apprehension of his person, as a regicide and traitor, issued by the Scottish Government, offering a reward of one thousand crowns to whomsoever should bring him prisoner to Scotland. Intelligence of this event was forwarded to King Frederick II, on the 23d September, 1567, who, on the 28th December, in the same year, gave orders, that Bothwell should be confined in the castle of Malmo, in Scania, (Schonen) and be well provided with bed and board. He was subsequently removed to the castle of Dragsholm, in a remote corner of Sealand, where he died in 1578, and was buried in Faanvoile Church, in the vicinity. Demands for his being delivered up were repeatedly, but fruitlessly, made both by Queen Elizabeth of England and King James VI of Scotland. Nothing is here known of his insanity in the latter days of his life, neither of his alledged will, nor of any other document issued by him; in regard to all of which the Archives have been carefully examined.

"There exists an account of the minutes of examination relating to Bothwell, printed in old Danish, in the life of Mary Stewart, by Bergenhammer.—*Copenhagen*, 1835, 8vo.

"The year of his death is mentioned by Rosen in his History of Frederick II, but there is no authentic public document relating to it.

"Such are the particulars which we have been able to communicate, and it gives us pleasure that our society has been able, *in so far*, to render you a service."—*Letter from C. C. Rafn, Secretary to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, to Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, Esq.* Oct. 29, 1839.

During the rebellion he was actively opposed to his brother; and, it is possible, that the Queen's promise to have regard to "the continuance of such a house in the person and blood of so faithful a servant as she expects to find him," (p. 55) may not have been entirely lost in confirming his loyalty.

When the rebellion was at an end, the Earl of Sussex applied to Cecil, for permission for Sir Henry Percy to repair to court, he writes as follows :—

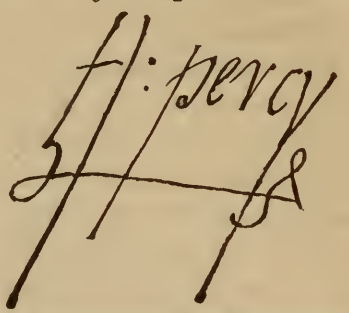
"I have, in generall wordes, recommended his trewthe and service to the Q. Majestie, which I truste you shall fynde to be worthie as muche as I have written. He hathe bene holly, in my opinion, at the Q. Majesties devotion, in the cause of the Scottishe maryage; sownde from this rebellion, redie with all his force to serve against them, and willing to venter his person with the first. The particularities whereof I will declare herafter, when tyme and occasion shall better serve." 7 Jan. 1569-70. —*S. P.*

On the 22nd day of May, 1570, Sir Henry writes to Sir George Bowes, a letter which is worthy of notice, as shewing the friendly terms on which they lived, and their mode of transacting business.

Sir George had borrowed two hundred pounds of him, for the use of his brother Robert :—

"Sr—this present I have resavyd your letter, and persave, that, for lake of the counterpane betwextt youe and me, *youe knowe nott the day of peament*; truly I my selffe *cane nott tell the day*, but ether is it Maye day, or Wyttson day; but, to satysffy your desier, I ame content for one other yere, in the same order that the wrytynges dothe wytniss betwextt hus. And for that thare must be trust reposed, because we cane nott be together for the makenge of nue wrytynges; so that youe pay unto my sarvant, Robartt Helline, or to my wyffe, one hounderythe poundes presently apone delyvere of thys, my letter, unto the sade Robarte Helline, I ame content that the rest of the mony shall stande as before: and, at my comynge home, wyche I trust wyll be shortly, we shall take order more parfettly for the matter. And yeff youe lyke nott of this, my sarvant, Helline, shall delyver youe your wrytynges, and resave the mony acordynge

the tenore of the sade wrytynges, apone the delyvere of this letter wyche I sende youe to be delyvered to hime, and more I cane nott do presently: and thus I byd youe hartyly farewell. From my logenge, in Wystminster, this xxij of Aprell, 1570.—Yours asuredly,



Sr,—I have wrytten to my sarvant Helline, to this ende, wyche letter I send herewith, for your offer consarnynge my lorde of N[orthumberlands] thinges; I thanke youe, but wyll nott dealle with any of his, at this tyme." —*Orig. Bowes MS. v.* 1, *p* 23.

A fresh patent was made out for the government of Tynmouth Castle, on the 13th May, 12th Eliz. (1570); and his son Henry was joined with him in the charge.

In June, 1570, he writes to Cecil, respecting his unfortunate brother—"consederyng that it is the offer of a natteralle brother to seke all meanes possable, to make helpe in tyme of extremytte I wolde be lothe to leve that whyche, by the goodnes of God, and marsefulnes of the prinse, myght be atended for his comodytte: for I here that he is very penytente, and hys wyffe in grett meserye..... The patremony nowe belongenge to the howse is not grett, and yf the Quenes marsie myght be extendytt towardes my brother, I truste that his behavor shulde be suche and sarvys, as by all meanes possible he wolde do to wyne agane that wyche he hathe justly lost: and yf it shoulde come to me, thare shoulde no man, what so ever he were, be more forwarde, with body, lyffe, and landes, to advanse the Q. Majesties sarvys or plesure than I, and so shall her Majestie have of thes tallent God hathe presentlye sente me; and thus, beinge ashamed to troble you in your wyghtie causes, I humble take my leve, from Bemyche loge, my mothers husse, that was. 7th June, 1570."—*Orig. S. P.*

The draught of his letter to his brother, enclosed in the foregoing, consists of the most bitter reproaches, for his great "misgovernment" towards God, the Queen, and the commonwealth; and concludes—"In what case ye have left your iiij children—I may tearme them the young beggars, for so had they bene had

nott the prynces liberality byne more then the goodnes of their friendes."

The insulting tone of this letter, at a time when the Earl was steeped in misery "to the very lips," does not produce a favorable impression of the character of his younger brother.

He afterwards fell under suspicion. Cecil writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in October, 1571, that Sir Henry was a great "devisor" to have had the Queen of Scotts from his custody about Easter last; and in the examination of the Bishop of Ross, 26-27 Oct. 1571, (*Murdin, p.* 21) he confesses that he met Sir Henry Percy twice, who said, "he had a sute at this parliament, to be enheritour to his brother; and if that toke not effect, he wold do the best he could for the deliverie of the Scots Quene; but if it did, he wold not medle, because of his nere children, but *he wold loke through his fyngars, if she eskaped away.*" And that he also promised to send six men to assist in the undertaking.

The privy council ordered his arrest; and on the 23rd of Oct. 1571, Sir John Forster received an order "for the diligent serche and apprehension of Sir Henry Percy." He went to Tynmouth, Beamyshe and Prudow, in pursuit of him, but heard that he was gone post to London. Sir John thought he would most likely conceal himself at Tynmouth, and take shipping to cross the seas; he found no body there, however, but John Metcalfe, a rebel, servant to the late Earl, who said he was the porter, and Thomas Dekam, a servant of Sir Henry; Metcalfe however, he misliked, and ordered some men to remain in the castle until the Queen's pleasure should be known.—*Orig.* 25 *Oct.* 1571, *S. P.*

On the 15th Nov., 1571, the privy council write to Sir John Forster that, for "certain considerations," Sir Henry Percy has been committed to the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler; and they direct him to go and see in what order the castle of Tynmouth is kept; and to take two gentlemen, justices of the peace, who shall not be suspected of any unkindness to Sir Henry, to view and examine the same, and to supply any default.

By letters from Sir John Forster and Sir John Delaval, they went, according to orders of the 26th Nov., to Tynmouth, and

found Robert Helene, Dikam, Metcalfe, and Sir James Rowley, Clerk, in the guard of the castle; the ordnance is generally reported to be out of repair; the stocks and wheels decayed, &c. Sir Henry was now removed from the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler and committed to the Tower, from whence he writes to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley:—"Ryght honorable and my singuler good lords—Findynge myselfe destytute of my nerest and derest frendes by nature, (and of many others by thare faultes,) without any offence, I thank God, I am forsed to flye to your honors as to my beste refuge in this my harde case, and to crave your honorable favores in fortheringe me to the grase and marsy of the Quene hyr most exselente majestie, wych I most humbly seke and sue for, as one that confesses myselfe to have offendytt hyr hyghness. And although I myght here (I call God to wytnes) justly and truly saye for myselfe, that this my faulte, for wyche I nowe suffer, hathe bene a forgetfulnes of duty to hir Majeste, in conselynge of other menes inordenat devyses, rather then any dysloyall yeldynge of my parte, or undutyful meanynge to exsecute the same in any sorte to the offense of her highnes; yet levynge all excuse and deffense of myselfe heare in, (howe just or true so ever the same be,) I do here most humbly and dutyfully submytt, not only the quallyte of my offense, to be judged of by hir Majeste, but myselfe also, to any punishment what so ever it shall please her highnes to lay apone me for the same. And altho I ame fully detarmyned lykwyse without any grudginge or repinynge tharat, dutyfully to abyde the tyme of suche correctyone as hir hyghnes shall thynke suffesent to satisfy hir displesure, contaynd aganst me for my faulte: yet, yff it shall please hir Majeste to stand so myche my good and gracious lady, (and the rather by your LL. good meanes for me,) as to release or releve me of this harde imprisonement wyche I suffer, being more hurtful to my weake body then grevous to my mynde (I thank God); I wyll promys to hir hyghnes by your honors, nott only my best and uttermost endevoyre to contenue suche true and fathefull sarvys as I have beine hearetofore, always redy and wyllynge to do, for hyr Majeste, but to better it hereafter, yeff I may possably by any meanes. And as I shall have juste cause to cary this your LL. grett favore and unde-

sarvyd frendshipe, of my parte, in gratefull remembranse; so wyll I nott sease to travell, tyll by sume thankfull plesure, or sarvys to youe, or sume of yours, I have requited your honorable cortosies in this behalffe. And thus wyshinge moste honor to your L L., I comytt the same to the Almyghtye. Frome the Towre, this xxiij of February, 1571-2."—*Orig. S. P. Perused by me, Owyn Hopton, Lieutennant.*

This letter does not explain the precise cause of his detention.

He was still confined in the Tower on the 14th July, 1572, as appears by a list of the prisoners at that time; and Lord Burghley has written opposite to his name, "endited of a contempt, ...his case...y^{e} pardon;" and in another hand, "unlawful dealing touching the Q. of Scotts."—*Lansdown, MS. v.* 14. On his release from the Tower, he was not permitted to approach within ten miles of London.—*Bridgewater.*

On the 12th July, 1573, a letter was directed, by the Privy Council, to be written to him, "that, at the humble suit of his wife, being with child, her Majesty, for more ease, permits him to come to London, or thereabout, using himself circumspectly; and that he should not departe above one or two miles from thence, till her Highness pleasure were known."—*Privy Council Journals.*

How long he continued under this qualified duress does not appear.

He succeeded to his brother's honors, as eighth Earl of Northumberland, by virtue of the remainder in the patent of 1557. *(p.* 317.)

In 1576, he was at Petworth, from whence he writes to Lord Burghley, that he is "living lyke a rustyke,.....very well contente therewith,—for, altho it be solitary, yet it is quiett."—*MS. Lansdown,* 25. 19.

He was afterwards suspected of participating in Throgmorton's and Paget's plots, in favour of Mary Queen of Scotts; and was again committed to the Tower, where, after a long imprisonment, he was found dead in his bed, on the 21st June, 1585; and, according to the coroner's inquest, held on the same day, it was found that the Earl "feloniously and voluntarily himself did kill." Public suspicion, however, was excited on the subject;

and two days afterwards, a meeting of the Queen's councillors was held in the Star Chamber, the details of which are printed in "A true and summarie reporte of the declaration of some part of the Earl of Northumberland's treasons ; " and the defunct Earl is accused of having " had his hande" in the rebellion of 1569 ; of his having afterwards conspired to release the Q. of Scotts, for which he was fined 5000 marks, (which was never paid) ; and of his being concerned in the plots of Throgmorton and Paget. To combat the rumours of foul play, it is asked—who can " conjecture the Earle to have bene murdered of pollicie or set purpose, as the evill affected seeme to conceave ? If the Earle had lived to have received the censure of the lawe for his offences, all lewde and frivolous objections had then bene answered, and all his goods, chattels, and lands, by his attaindure, have come unto her Majestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie utterly overthrowen." Doubts however, prevailed beyond the metropolis ; for Lord Francis Russell writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, from Tynmouth, on the 26th June following :—" I received your letter of the 21th of this instant, for which I humble thanke you. For the manner of my L. of Northumberlands death, *yt will hardlie be beleved* in this countrie to be as you have written ; yet I ame fullie perswaded, and I have perswaded divers, yt was no otherwise."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Earls attendants had been changed immediately preceding his decease, and it would appear difficult for a prisoner in the Tower to obtain and secrete fire-arms from the watchful cognizance of his jailers. Cambden says, (p. 310,) the Earl was " a man of a lively and active spirit and courage :" and adds, that " certainly many good men were much affected, that so great a person died so miserable and lamentable a death, as well because men naturally favour nobility, as that he had acquired singular commendation for his valour. What suspicions the fugitives muttered concerning one Bailife, that was one of Hatton's servants, and a little before appointed to be the Earl's keeper, I omit, as being a thing altogether unknown unto me ; and I think it not meet to insert any thing upon mere hear-says and reports." *

* The Earl married Catherine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, by whom he had a numerous issue. On the 5th December, 1597, she writes to Lord Burghley

Amongst other gentlemen who suffered severely on this occasion, from their friendship or connection with the Earl of Northumberland, may be mentioned Thomas Bates, who represented the borough of Morpeth in Parliament in 1554, 5, 7, & 8.

That he was an active and energetic soldier, will appear by the following letter from Queen Mary :—

"Marie the Quene.

"By the Queen.—Trustie and welbiloved, we grete you well. And whereas we understand by reporte of our right trustie and right welbiloved cousyn th Erle of Northumberland, not only your good will and readyness to our service in these borders, but also the good and valyaunte servyce and endevour ye have from tyme to tyme don there. And specially nowe at this last encountare with the enemie. Like as for your parte ye have shewed therin a good knowledge of your duty, bothe towards us and your countrey, moche to our contentacon. So have we [thoughte] convenyent for this your good service by our letters, to geve unto you our h[artye] thanks ; and will not fayle, upon your contynewance in this your well doinge, to have you in our good remembrance as occasion shall serve. Not doubting but, as ye have shewed your selfe willing and forward in our good servyce, so ye will contynue and be ready from tyme to tyme to follow the direccon of our said cousyn in all things that shall touche our servyce there.—Yeven under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the xxvijth of November, the fourthe and fyvethe yeres of our reignes."—*Addressed,* "*To our trusty and well biloved Thomas Bates, gentleman.*"—*Orig. Milbourn Hall.*

He was a tenant of the Dacre family, of some mills at Morpeth ; and a letter is extant of William Lord Dacre, to his son Leonard, enclosing a letter to Thomas Bayts, to pay one hun-

"from my house in St Martyns," "My sonne hath taken to his speciall companion Mr. John Wotton, notwithstanding he had knowen before his enterteyning of his sister, my eldest daughter, in *love and follies* whereof six or seven moneths since I warned him against, by my letter; wherunto he made a short and slaight answer."—*S. P.* Mr. John Wotton however, married Lucy, eldest daughter of the Countess ;—and her eldest son, Henry, the 9th Earl of Northumberland, in consequence of his relationship to one of the conspirators of the Gunpowder plot, which excited the suspicions of James, was, on slight surmise, fined £30000, by the Star Chamber "that den of arbitrary justice."—He paid £20,000 of that enormous fine by instalments, and was not released until 1621, after a confinement of fifteen years.

dred pounds to his son-in-law, Mr. Culpeper: the letter is addressed to Leonard Dacre, at "my house" beside Ivy Bridge, London.—*S. P.* After the death of Thomas Lord Dacre, Sir John Foster seized these mills, which Bates, however, claimed and recovered.—*S. P.*

He attended the Earl of Northumberland to the Spanish Ambassador, as his interpreter; (p. 189) and the Earl, in his confessions, referring to the testimony of Bates, says, he now standeth on such terms as "behoveth him to concele nothing." (p. 190.) His connection with the Earl would naturally render him liable to suspicion, and Lord Hunsdon writes to the Earl of Sussex on the 4th of Feb. 1569-70, that "Thomas Bates ys cume home; and, according too your Lordship's commandment, the shereve hath sent for hym." He was indicted at Carlisle, and transferred to the Tower, where his examination was taken on the 14th March, 1569-70, before Sir Francis Jobson, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir Henry Nevill, Knight, by virtue of a warrant in that behalf. The questions do not appear; but their import may be inferred from the answers. To the first he says, "He sent no money to the Earl of Northumberland, nor to the Countess his wife, since the tyme of the Rebellion; but saith that at the tyme the Earle laie at Beamishe, aboute tenne daies afore the Rebellion, he lyinge ther, was commanded to cause such money as was dewe for his Whitsundaie rents to be sent him; which the said Battes did, and willed by commandment aboute the som of fower score and ten poundes to be sent him, which was sent as he thinketh" [to George Medcalf, the Earl's receiver]. "He gave commandment to the Earl's receiver, eyther to se the same mony delyvered, or sent unto him." To the rest —"He doeth utterlie deny that he was previe to the sendinge of any mony by any means other than abovesaid, saving that he saieth the commandement given to him was openlie given before the Earle's auditor, whose name is Robert Heighington, and more he can not saie."

The examiners state that, "Furder than herein he hath confessed, we can by no meanes get owte of him."—*Orig. S. P.*

The Duke of Norfolk, in his letter to the Privy Council, 14th Dec. 1569, says that he never received more than one letter from

the Earl of Northumberland, which "was in behalf of Bates, his man, and touching no other matter."—*Cott. MS. Calig. C.*

He was arraigned with the Nortons * on the 6th April, 1570, when he pleaded not guilty, and put himself "on the trial of his country." He was remanded to the Tower, and he is named in a list of the prisoners confined there on the 14th June, 1572, signed by Edward Zowch, *(Lansdown MS. No.* 14*)* and opposite his name is written, apparently by Cecil,—"To be sent down—his case to be considered."—How long he remained afterwards a prisoner does not appear; yet in all probability until he received the Queen's pardon, in January, 1573-4. He is then styled of Morpeth, gent., and his offence is stated to be "for concealment of treason."—*Privy Seal Records.*

* In the account of Christopher Norton's execution (p. 286) Captain Philip Shirley is named by him as having been the cause of his death. He was a Captain, of Berwick,—was employed as a spy,—and was despatched to the court from York with the intelligence he had gleaned.—*Sadler, v.* 2, *p.* 185. He declares, in his answers to certain interrogataries, that the intention of taking away the Queen of Scotts, was to have been done about three weeks before Queen Elizabeth came from her progress; but a messenger from the Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Westmorland prevented it, until he should hear further. This he heard from Christopher Norton; but, being determined to know the truth, on the next day, whilst he was walking in the garden at Raby with the Earl of Westmoreland, he artfully led the unsuspecting Earl to talk on the subject, who said:—"Yf the Dewke had not sent that message, they had don well enowge, but he shewed himself to be feynte in dede; and here ys another as very a coward as he, (namyng my lorde of Northumberland,) and cursyng the Dewke, sayde, he was the undoyng of them, for by that message and breche of that day, theyr fryends fell from them, and gave them over."—He found there were three several devises for getting the Queene away, which were always hindered by Captain Reed, so that at last the Earl of Westmoreland said, "He was not the man he was taken for." Reed said, how could they do it without horsemen? The Earl replied, Leonard Dacres would assist them with two hundred; "but yet yt brake off by Capteyn Read."—He then relates several circumstances told him by Christopher Norton; one was, that when Lady Leveston came from the Queen of Scotts turning a diamond ring on her little finger, he should then give credence to what she said:—The lady appeared as described, and asked him, if credit might be given to Captain Read, for he had offered himself to the Queen. Norton answered, "In no wise to truste him." The Queen said as much to Captain Reed, who immediately replied, Christopher Norton had given that intelligence. Shirley continues, that Christopher Norton told him, that they had not begun at that time, but for certain words spoken by Lord Sussex, touching the hanging of old Norton, to Lord Westmoreland; and old Norton said to Shirley himself, that he thought it better to venture that way than to be apprehended; there was some hope one way, but none the other—that the Earl of Northumberland did refuse at sundry times—that at first they had some hope of friendship of Lord Sussex, but he failed their expectation—that Christopher Norton should have stolen the Queen of Scots away under the disguise of one of her ladies, whom he feigned to be in love withall. The names of the confederates, he states to be the Duke; the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, the Lord Lomley, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Worcester; the Lords Morley, Montague, and Wharton, Leonard Dakers, the Nortons, Captain Reed and Markenfeld. *Endorsed by Cecil "Cap. Styrley de Chrofer Norton."—Orig. S. P.* It may be presumed that the treacherous calling of Shirley did not enrich him: for on the 3rd of June, 1572, he begs to be employed in Flanders, and that his "poore wife" may enjoy his pension until his return.—*S. P.*

He was living in 1584, but died without issue, settling his estates on his brother Robert, of Woodhorne Seaton, and his sons, in tail male; which Robert was the direct ancestor of the present Ralph Bates, Esq., of Milbourne Hall and Halliwell, in the County of Northumberland.—*(Muniments at Milbourne Hall.)*

Oswald Wilkinson was jailer of York, in 1557; and, on the 15th March, 1st Eliz. he was re-appointed, jointly with Robert Lee.

He appears to have been a tenant of the Earl of Northumberland, and to have lived on terms of intimacy with him. He writes to the Earl, from York Castle, on the 21st Aug. 1568,—"I have sent your Lordship to read, a letter, wherein ye shall find the Spanish ambassador maid a great bonefyre, and sett furthe wyne and beare plentifully, for all comers to drinke; on whiche, as I gather, he woold not have done, but upon some more matter then upon the overthrow of 7000 pore wretched protestants."—*Orig. S. P.*

An anonymous letter designates him as "the most pernicious, railing, and obstinate papist in all the country;" and that, before the rebellion, he wore the badge of the rebels, viz.—"a gold crucifix about his neck"; and, that his brother, Peter, attends him in London, who declared that "the mass should be said."—*Orig. S. P.*

The bishop of Ross writes to Lord Burghley, that Wilkinson was the principal person sent from the Earls to the Spanish ambassador, with letters directed to the Duke of Alva, to give the rebels aid, so as a port might be taken: whereupon Hartlepool was taken. 3 Nov. 1571.—*Murdin, p.* 42.

It is stated also (*Murdin*) that Wilkinson had special token to the Spanish ambassador,—that Gerard Lowther told the ambassador, the Earls had spent all their money, but, if they might have 10, or 6,000 crowns, they could keep their men together for three months, till the spring: and that they could take Hartlepool, and such places whereunto aid might come.

Hartlepool was nominated by Wilkinson, as a fit place to receive support both of money and men.

In his letter to the privy council, he declares that, being at Toplyffe, about the 18th October, on taking leave, he asked Lord Northumberland what he could do for him in London, who said, that Taylor was there already—gone to borrow money; so he desired him to make haste, and, if he did not meet him, to see the bishop of Ross, and desire him to be a meane for such money as he had sent Taylor for. He did not meet Taylor, but he saw the bishop of Ross, who answered, "in good faithe, my lord cannot be holpen; for the factors (or suche a lyke tearme he gave) are taken away and comytted to prison, and here is all that ever I had to do with the bishop of Rosse."—*S. P.*

The Earl, in his confessions, (p. 200) says, that Wilkinson was his farmer of certain mills—that he sent him to the Spanish ambassador, to let him know the extremity to which they were reduced.

Hamlyn says he was a "great worker."—*Haynes.*

He was arraigned on the 6th April, 1570, with the Nortons; and pleaded not guilty, and put himself to the trial of the country.

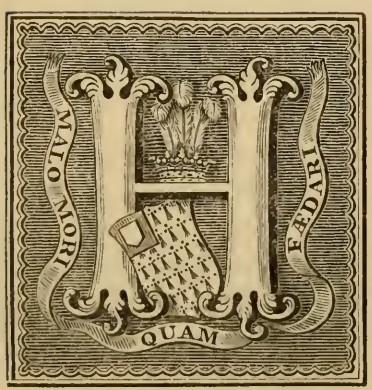
In a petition to the council, Wilkinson says—"I declare to God, at the dreadful day of judgment, I was no more privy to this rebellion than the child of two years old." Notwithstanding, he appears in the list of prisoners in the Tower, on the 14th of June, 1572; and there is written, opposite his name, "indited; —to be tryed in Midlesex": where, no doubt, he was briefly tried, and found guilty; for, on "the 28th November, John Hall, gentleman, and Oswald Wilkinson, late of Yorke, and gailer of Yorke Castle, (being before arraigned and condemned of treason) were drawne from the Tower of London, to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered."—*How's Chronicles, p.* 673.

At the present time it would be extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace, with any degree of accuracy, the extent of confiscation inflicted on those who were even nearly, and still

more of those who were remotely connected with this ill-concerted and unfortunate rebellion; or the amount of fines, amerced according to the assumed capability of the parties whose lives were spared. The loss of life has been partially related; yet still there were undoubtedly many more, whose untimely end has not been discovered, with sufficient certainty, from the papers which have fallen under the observation of the editor; but which are obscurely hinted at, by less authentic records, as having "suffered" in the rising of the North; which literally, in the words of the ballad,

> "———— many a childe made fatherless,
> And widowed many a tender wife."
> *The Rising of the North.*

SIR GEORGE BOWES.



AVING carefully examined every document in the Bowes collection, and printed such as appeared likely to possess any interest in the elucidation of the transactions of the period, it may not be deemed uninteresting to render some cursory account of the progenitors of Sir George Bowes, and of himself, as a natural conclusion to this volume.

The descent of the family has been so recently sketched by the late historian of the county, that the editor will content himself, in the early stages, with following or copying his text; and this he is the rather inclined to do, because, during the investigations relating to the family of Bowes, he was constantly engaged

with him, in his researches; and his present regret is, that the papers which now form the principal materials of these memorials had not been discovered during the life-time of his friend—so that they might have been incorporated into his invaluable labours, forming, as they do, so essential a portion of the history of the county of Durham.

It may not be permitted in this place to dwell on the public calamity which the county sustained by his untimely death, before the completion of his labours; and any expression of personal sorrow for the loss of one whose constant friendship was a source of mental and social enjoyment, would be equally obtrusive and unavailing.

"Of the family of Bowes," says Mr. Surtees, vol. 4, p. 48, "an account said to be taken from the chartulary of St, Mary's abbey, at York, (and frequently prefixed to the pedigree, in copies of the visitation of 1575) states the first ancestor to be a cousin of an Earl of Richmond, Alan the Black, who appointed him captain of the Tower of Bowes, and leader of five hundred archers. The heralds however, begin the genealogy with Sir Adam Bowes, a successful lawyer and Chief Justice in Eyre, who married the heiress of Trayne towards 1310; and was the ancestor of a line of knightly rank, who inter-married with the first nobility of the North—Graystoke, Fitzhugh, Conyers, Eure, and Clifford; and, what is more singular, were distinguished by civil or military talent in every successive generation.

To pass lightly over family transactions of no public moment, it may be briefly observed, that Adam Bowes, who survived till 1356, settled, in 1333, Osmondcroft and Stubhouse on his son Robert, reserving to himself an annuity of nine pounds out of Osmondcroft, and forty shillings out of Stubhouse. Sir William Bowes, the third son of Robert, but eventually his heir, is said (with some improbability as to dates) to have been knighted at Poictiers; he more certainly married the heiress of Dalden, (the Lady Maude) with whom he gained large possessions in the eastern part of the county,

Sir Robert Bowes, son of Sir William and of Maude, lady of Dalden, was made banneret at the siege of Rouen, and fell with

Thomas, Duke of Clarence, at the surprise of Baugy bridge, in 1421. His son, Sir William, lost his young wife, Jane Graystoke, in the first year of their marriage, "and thereon he toke moche thoght and passed into France," where he mingled in the wars with as much gallantry, and fairer fortunes than his father. He was chamberlain,* and a principal favorite with the Regent, John, Duke of Bedford, captain of Castle Galyard; and, after nigh twenty years of honorable service, returned to England, and rebuilt his manor-place of Streatlam from the ground. For the sake of his first love he lived ever a widower; and, continuing long in peace and honour, is distinguished in the family roll as "Old Sir William Bowes." The once spreading family of Bowes was now apparently reduced to a single individual, the only issue of Sir William, and Jane Graystoke. This younger Sir William was warden of the middle marches, under the Marquess of Montague, and under Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and sheriff of Northumberland. He had therefore followed the party of the house of York. It does not appear that any member of the house of Bowes fell on either side, during the wars of the rival roses. Sir William left a numerous issue by Maude, daughter of Lord Fitzhugh. William, the eldest son, attained not to knighthood; and is recorded to have resided in Lincolnshire, on the estates of his wife, a niece of Archbishop Booth. Six sisters were married to Hilton, Bulmer, Conyers, Lisle, Swinnow, and Wycliffe. Sir Ralph Bowes, fourth, but next surviving son, was heir to his brother William; and acquired a large accession of property in Richmondshire, by marriage with the co-heir of Conyers, of South Cowton, a seat which became thenceforth a frequent residence of the family.

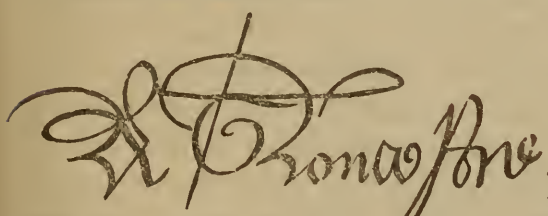
* "The Bowes were gentilmen in the Bishoprike of Dirham, long afore Henry the 5 tyme, and had the chief land and house of theyr name that they have there yet. One of this house, caullid Syr Gul. Bowes, was Chaumbrelayne with the Duke of Bedeforde, brother to Henry the 5, and uncle to the 6, and Protector and Governor in Fraunce, by whos favor *Bowes*, caullid in frenche Mounseir de Arches, being in Fraunce with hym a xvij yeres, waxid riche, and, comming home, augmentid his lande and fame. Bowes of the Kinge's Counsel at Yorke" (Sir Robert), "is a younger brother of the chief house of the Bowes. And Bowes that was in Fraunce, was great grandfather to this Bowes of the Counselle. And he is also uncle to the best of the Bowes that now is" (Sir George).—*Leland Itin.* v 4, f. 12.

By his will dated 6th July, 1482,* in which he describes himself of Dalden, he desires burial in the monastery of St. John of Egleston, where Leland, half-a-century later, saw "his tumbe of gray marble," the same that is now removed to the grounds of Rokeby.

A second Sir Ralph Bowes, of Dalden, Streatlam, and South Cowton, eldest son of the former, filled the office of high sheriff of the county palatine, for thirty years, under six successive prelates." He married in 1509, before the feast of St. Martin, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, Lord Clifford, and sister to the first Earl of Cumberland, whose marriage portion was six hundred marks (her father engaging to "bere all the costs and charges of the dyner, the day of the said marriage").—*Orig. Mar. Art. 7 March, 24 Hen. VII.*

"He was at Flodden in 1513; and, at his death in 1516,† he left an only posthumous son, afterwards Sir George Bowes, of Dalden," born 2nd April, 1517, whose "ward, custody, and marriage" were sold by Cardinal Wolsey, then Bishop of Durham, to Sir William Bulmer, the elder, for eight hundred pounds, on the 20th Feb. 15th Hen. 8, 1524, (*Orig. Bowes MS.*); who

* Six years previously, he alienated the advowson of the Church of Seaham to Richard, Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.); and the counterpart of the deed of sale is too curious to pass unnoticed here.



This bill endented, made at Middelham the viith day of January, the fift ne yere of ye reigne of Kyng Edward the iiijth, betwene the right high and myghty Prince Richard, Duc of Gloucestere, on that oone part, and Rauf Bowes, squier, on that other part. Witnesseth that the said Rauf hath solde to the said Duc a parcell of lande liyng in Seham, within the bishoprik of Duresme, with the advowson of the church of Seham; the same to be made as sure to the said Duc, as by the counsell of the said Duc shal be devysed, betwixt this, and the Feste of Pasche next comyng. And the said Rauff shall delyver to the said Duc, all suche evidences as concerne the same, beying in his kepyng, or in any otheris, to his use and behoofe, before the saide Feste of Pasche next comyng; of the which parcell of lande, with the advowson of ye said Churche, the said Duc graunteth by these presents, to pay to the said Rauff, or to his assignes, an hundred marc sterling; and at the Feste of Saint Andrewe, thenne next followyng, fifty marcs sterling.—In witnesse wherof to this present bille, endented, remaynyng with the said Rauff, the said Duc hath set to the seal ye place, day, and yere above said.—*Orig. Bowes MS. Seal—Arms of France and England, quarterly, charged with a Label of three Points.*

† His widow married William Tonge, of Denton, Esq.

again sold his right to Sir William, afterwards Lord Eure, whose daughter, Muriell, he married. He had livery as heir to his father, 6th April, 1535; and was long and actively engaged in border warfare. He was knighted at Leith on the 11th May, 1544; and was considered, by the privy council, as worthy of the highest rewards for his good services, as appears by their letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant general in the north parts, the bishop of Durham, and Sir Ralph Sadler, dated 30th Nov. 1544,—"And touching Sir George Bowes, albeit the gift of a hole baronye in apparence importeth much, yet, in consideracion of his sondrye good services, his grace is content to gyve the said baronye unto him, and unto his heyres males, reserving sume small yerely rent therof to be payed for a knowledge (acknowledgment) unto his highnes; the said Sir George observing all such conditions for the keping and mayntayning therof as him self hath devysed in his saide lettres sent unto you."—(*Orig. Talbot Papers, v. A, p.* 171, *printed in the "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," by the Maitland Club.*) Why this honour was not conferred does not appear. By his wife Muriel, (who re-married William Wycliffe, of Wycliffe, Esq.) he left (inq. p. m., 5th Aug. 1556) three daughters and coheirs, who inherited the estates in the east of the county. They were in ward to the King and Queen, and afterwards to their uncle, Sir Robert Bowes. "Of these, Anne, the second, intermarried with her cousin, Robert Bowes, of Aske; who thus obtained the Manor of Homildon, and was ancestor of Bowes, of Barnes—a line which terminated as to male heirs in the third descent. The eldest and youngest sisters carried the blood of Bowes, and a large portion of the estates, into the families of Blakiston and Collingwood; * but no part of the Bowes estates is now vested in the descendants of any of these heiresses. The next heir-male to Sir George, of Dalden, was his uncle, Sir Robert Bowes, of South Cowton. He was frequently employed in border warfare, but not always with uniform success. He occurs as Lord Warden of the East and Middle

* Robert Collingwood bought the wardship and marriage of Dorothy Bowes, for 450 marcs, for his nephew, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, of Eslington, 10th June, 4th Ed. VI.—*(Bowes MS.)*

Marches, on the 10th June, 4th Ed. VI. (*Bowes MS.*); and during this short reign he compiled his "informations" addressed to Henry Marquess of Dorset, Warden General, on the state of the "marches, the towne of Barwick, and the Countie of Northumberland, both towards Skotland; and concerninge the cyvile order within them selves, the laws also and customs of the marches, and, fynallie, such other things as the said Sir Robert Bowes, by his experience and knowledge, thinketh convenient to be considered and knowen by a Lord Warden of Marches," are full of curious and interesting details, and prove that he was fully and practically conversant with the subject.—(*Bowes MS.*) He was frequently appointed a commissioner in treaties of peace, and appears to have been employed both as a soldier and civilian.

He was sworn of the Privy Council to Edward VI. on the 25th Sept, 1551 (*Council Books*); and in the following year he was appointed Master of the Rolls. On the death of Edward, he signed the letter to Mary, to let her know that Lady Jane Gray was Queen. This bold step does not appear to have done him any injury with Queen Mary; for, on the 27th April, 1554, he was directed by the Privy Council, to repair to Berwick to join with the Lord Conyers, for the better taking of musters, with a warrant to the receiver of Yorkshire for one hundred pounds, as a reward from the Queen (*Council Books*).

He married Alice, daughter of James Metcalfe, of Nappa; but his four sons all died in infancy. The male representation then vested in the next and youngest son of Sir Ralph, Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham, in 1548 and 1550. His father had purchased, 1st Aug., 2nd Henry VIII., the custody and marriage of Elizabeth, one of the two daughters and coheirs of Roger Aske, deceased, of William Aske, her grandfather; and on the 8th July, 13th Henry VIII., the King granted to Ralph Bulmer, who had married Anne, the other daughter, and to Richard Bowes, who "shall take, mary, and have to wyfe" the other daughter, Elizabeth, special livery of the lands of William Aske, and they are said to be "cosyns and heires to the same William; that is to say, daughters and heires of Roger Aske, sone and heire of the same William Aske."—*Orig. under Sign Manual, Bowes MS.*

Richard Bowes* died in 1558, leaving a numerous issue. His eldest surviving son was Sir George Bowes, heir male of the whole family; and his second son Robert, was treasurer of Berwick, and ambassador in Scotland (*p.* 30). He also left several daughters (*Surtees, vol.* 4, *p.* 54,); of whom, Bridget, married Thomas Hussey;† and Margery married John Knox,‡ the Scottish Reformer.

"Sir George Bowes was early trained to the profession of arms; and engaged, like most of his ancestors, in the service of the border."

He is named, by Sir Thomas Holcroft, to the Protector

* Amongst the Bowes MSS. is the following curious letter, to Richard Bowes, Esq. relating to a purchase of land:—

"Yt maye please you to understand, that my Ladye Nevyle hath ben at Covyntre with my Lord, my master, and hathe condycyonally knowledged the recoverye and the fyne for your assurance of the lands that ye purchased of her husband, and wold not by any meanes have assented to the knoledge of the same, but that my Lorde dyd promyse her, on your behalfe, that you sholde gyve her xx nobles for her good wylle, to bye her a gowne of yelvet, as this bringer can informe you; and allso ther is a memorandum wryten in the ende of the said fyne and recoverye, knoledged by my said ladye, by the comawndement of my said lorde, that beffore suche tyme as my lorde receyve a certyfycate from my said ladye, by her lettres or otherwyse, makeinge mencyon that you have suffyciently recompensyd my said ladyes good wylle as ys aforesaid, that ther shall not any procede to the suying out of your said fyne and recoverye. Therefore, with so moche speede as ye convenyentlye may, ye must fynde the meanes to compound with my said lady to the ende aforesaid, as knoweth our Lorde God, who send you all things good for you. Scrybled at Covyntre aforesaid, the xvith day of Januarye, by yours to doo you suche pleasure as he may. Edward Vyllers, clerke to my Lord Chief Justice of England, and one of the atturneys of the Comon Place." —*Bowes MS. vol.* 3, *p.* 1.

† In addition to what has been stated with regard to Hussey (*p.* 64), it is related elsewhere, that he was a rebel, and that he escaped the full penalties, by the kindly interposition of his relative. There is a letter from him among the Bowes MSS., proving the kindness which Sir George exercised towards him, stating that he has drawn a supplication to the Lord Treasurer, and begs his advice "what you think best for me to do, in which yon shall, *as often heretofore you have donne, bind me and myne to be at your commandment so long as we shall leve.*" This xviiith of Aperyll, by your brother-in-law to command, Thomas Hussee.—*Orig. endorsed* 1580.—*Bowes MS. vol.* 3, *p.* 32.

‡ The family of the Scottish Reformer is never mentioned in the Bowes papers except once, and then it is in a letter from Thomas Appleby to his master, Sir George, from London, May 29th, 1580:—

"The seneor Knox, yor nephewe, who procedid Mr. of Arte, sence Easter, was buryed at Cambridge yesterdaye, and disseasid uppon Frydaye, in th afternone; his sicknes was, as they write, a tertiane ague, and he hathe had it aboute xiiij dayes before God tuke him to his mercye."—*Orig. Vol.* 7, 23.

Knox became acquainted with his first wife, Margery Bowes, at Berwick. Her father and uncle, Sir Robert, were decidedly adverse to the union; but her mother was constant in her inclination to the connexion, and tried every means to obtain her husband's consent. They were married in 1553. She accompanied her husband to France in 1556, as well as her mother, and they are mentioned as being at Geneva, 13th Sep. 1556 (Livre des Anglois a Geneve). Many of the letters of Knox are addressed to Mrs. Bowes, whom he always designates by the familiar appellation of *Mother*. Mrs. Knox died in 1560, and Mrs. Bowes in 1572.—*See M'Crie's Life of Knox.*

Somerset, as "young Bowes," in 1549, and was then in the command of a hundred cavalry, at Dunglasse, with George Selby (*Cott. MS. Calig. b. vii, fol.* 486).

He was contracted, when he was only seven years of age, to marry Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Mallory, of Studley, when he should attain the age of fourteen (*Orig. mar. art.* 8 *Oct.* 26 *Hen. VIII*). By this lady he left four sons and three daughters.

On the 16th January, 1557-8, the Queen (Mary) writes to Lord Eure, that, for the opinion she has conceived of the good experience and faithful service of Sir William Ingelby, knt. and George Bowes, esq. she has appointed the former treasurer of Berwick; and George Bowes, Marshall; and that he shall have the house and all other commodities belonging to the office; and he is directed to serve with one hundred footmen, and fifty horsemen, which he is to bring with him well "furnished."—*S. P.*

Having been for some years a widower, he must have made some advances towards a second marriage, before he wrote the following letter to Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, then Lord President of the council of the North, on the 14th February, 1557-8:—

"My bownden dewtie premysed—may yt please youre honorabele lordshipe to be advertesed, that, beynge come hether, and entered into my charge, I founde yt muche dysordered and suche scarcetye of vytaylles, bothe for man and horse, as have benne seldome accustomed; the redres whereof must be by the Quenes Majesties provysion, whereof as yett their ys small store, but muche is looked for, yf the wynde wolde serve, remembringe your lordshipes goodnes, I thought I coulde not better shewe my gratefull mynd then in wryting unto your lordshipe. In doynge whereof I had rather lacke of mater then anye wante of good wyll shoulde appere. When I was come to thys towne, I fownde not thynges accordynge as they bruted, neyther the enemyes so stronge, nor suche cause of terror, as was commonly noysed; but rather in theme more feare then in us, and very desyerus of peace, as it may appere by the conclusyon that has ensued, having thys daye concluded an abstinens for

xxx dayes, trustynge that, by that tyme that terme shall expyre, we shal be provyded for theme and for the vij shippes which latelye arryved in Scotland. Their is nether in theme anye ingyne, nor men of warr, as it was supposed. Your lordshippe, I thynke, hathe herde howe the Scotteshe lords be gone into Fraunce, for the cawse of the maryage and other thynges. Theire ys none worthye the advertisement, and therfor I shall most humblye take my leve, humblye requiering your lordshipe, that is wold please you to advertese me the answere of my ladye Talbot, and what your lordshipes pleasure is concerning my procedynge in the maryage of Maistres Jane Talbot, which I thynke duringe thys abstinens maye better be then after, yf the warr shall agayne renewe, yff your lordshipe come to Yorke, for I thynke that, dewrynge thys abstinens, I may obteyne lycense to come to you thyther, to attende youre pleasure, which, yf the warr agayne renewes, I moche dowte; and thus, attendynge youre lordshipes pleasure, I shall ever pray [to] God for your lordshipes preservacon. [From] the kynge and quenes majesties towne of [Barwick] the xiiij of februarye. Your lordshipes hollye at commandement, GEORGE BOWES."
—*Orig. Lambeth Lib.*

The reply of the Earl does not appear; it was evidently favorable, and the Marshall writes again, on the 27th of March following, "My bounden dewtie premysed, it may please your good lordshipe, being appointed to be Marshall of this towne, and throughe lacke of letters patent, not able to mynystre justice accordinge to the dewtie of th office; I have therefor written to the kinge and quenes majesties honorable privie counsell, for the havinge of my letters patent. And through the contenyaunce of the said office, being dryven to greater chardges then either the allowance for the same, or my lyvinge will beare; and likewise by reason of the greatnes of the garrisons lyinge in this towne, I am put to great paynes to all thinges apperteyning to the said office, for the execution wher off I have no allowance for any kinde of officers to help me therein, I have therefor also written for the encrease of myne enterteynment; the copie of which letter I send to your lordshipe here inclosed, most humblie requyringe your lordshipe to further my sute therin. And fur-

ther, by commandement of the quenes majestie, having levied one hundred able fotemen, and fiftie horsemen, of my frends, servantes, tenantes, and others, under my rule and offices, to serve her grace in the warres in Scotlande, wherbie I have sore bordened them. I do therfor most humblie beseche your good Lo. likewise to helpe and further me, that I may, in consideracon hereoff, obteyne the quenes majesties letters to the Lo. Lieutenant, to spare suche my frendes and others as have helped me to furnyshe these my said garrisons, for all which purposes I have sent this bearer, my brother, to solicite the same to the counsell and your lordshipe, but, especially upon the trust that I have in hym to requyre your loreshipe to sett forwards the solempnyzacon of the mariadge betwixt Mrs. Jane Talbot and me; and for all requestes and demandes whatsoever to be required, ether on her behalfe by your lordshipe, or any other hir frende, or yet on my behalfe, to declare to your Lo. my fathers and myn whole requestes, assentes, and consentes in every point, promising further to your Lo. that what so ever shall be agreed and concluded betwixt your Lo. and hym, for the consummacon theroff, I shall, God willinge, performe and fulfill at the uttermost; most humblie beseching your honorable Lo. to be my good lorde herein, according to the hope I have in your lordshipe. And with as much sped as your Lo. may convenientlie, to hasten this matter, wherein your Lo. shall shew me bothe singuler pleasure and moche profitt, as this bearer can declare to your lordshipe. And thus I pray for your honorable lordshipes good preservacon. From Barwicke the xxvijth of March, 1558.—*Orig. Lambeth Library.*

The following letter, from the lady's mother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, shows that the negotiation was well advanced towards completion:—

Right hon. and my especiall good lord,—my dewtie premisede, this is to certifie your good Lo. that my brother Gifford cannot be with your Lo. that daye which you doe appointe; he saith he hath busines to London, but I will waite upon your Lo. myselfe, or els I will send some freind that I have to waite upon your Lo. I have sent my daughter, by my cousen Talbot, seventeene pounds for her apparell; but if your Lo. wold staye

but till another time, untill my brother might waite upon your Lo. if your Lo. cannot put it of, if it wolde please your Lo. to take the paines in it your selfe, I wold desire noe honester a freind to see the assurance of it, then your Lo., and for my assurance, my brother Gifford and my brother Swinerton will be bound for me for that which I now doe, the which I did write unto your Lo. of, if I doe agree with my cosen Talbot's wife. Thus I comitt your good lordship unto the tuition of Almightie God. From my howse at Awbrighton Parke, the five-and-twentieth day of May, 1558. Your Lopps. to comand to her poore power,

FRANCES TALBOT, Wedow.

To the Right Honourable, and my especiale good Lord,
the Earle of Shrewsbury.

The marriage articles are dated on the 1st of July, 1558. The Earl of Shrewsbury and his son Lord George Talbot, being the trustees on the part of his wife. The marriage took place on the same day, and on the 4th July following, Richard Bowes and his son George, convey various estates in the counties of York and Durham, agreeably to the marriage articles. Jane Talbot was the daughter of Sir John Talbot, of Albrighton, Knight, deceased, by Frances, daughter of Sir John Guilford, Knight, and aunt to George, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury. By this marriage, Sir George gained "a close alliance with the powerful house of Shrewsbury."

On the 24th March, 1558-9, Sir James Croft, Captain-General of Berwick, writes to Cecil that the Quene had granted leave to "Master Bowes, Marshall," to repair to London, to finish such business as the death of his father had created; yet as there was, on the arrival of his leave, a communication of "abstenance in hande betwene my Lord of Northumberland and the officers of the borders of Scotland," he thought proper not to depart untill he saw the effect of the communication. He departed, however, after the abstinence was settled, "levenge behinde him his brother, a very towardly man, to loke to his charge; and nowe that the said Mr. Marshall shall repayre to London, and having neade of ayde to depeche his busines and sutes there, I beseche you let him have your furtherance; for I assuer you he is a very honest gentlemen, and worthy to have favor: and besydes that, hys

servys desarvethe consyderation,—his spedy depeche shal be very necessary, for the tyme of the yere draweth on, wherein men of servis may be worse spared."—24th Marche, 1558-9. He was in London on the 3rd April, 1559, when Sir James Croft refers the Council to him for information respecting Berwick. His absence was not of long duration. The Duke of Norfolk was appointed Lt.-General of her Majestie's army in the north, on the 25th Dec. 1559, and soon afterwards repaired to Newcastle.* The Earl of Northumberland writes from London to his wife, on the 8th Feb. 1559-60, to offer him Alnwick Castle during his stay in the north. The Duke was at Berwick in April, May, and June, 1560, superintending the seige of Leith; and in the month of May, he conferred the honor of knighthood on the Marshall.† On the 2nd of August, the Duke received the Queen's permission to return to Court.

On the 6th of July, 1560, Sir George Bowes writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, from Berwick, that, since he wrote to him last, "the treatye hath bene in greate dowte to have broken off, and the war to have renewed, but notwithstanding the ambassadors hathe nowe concludyte the peace yesterday, beynge the V of this instante July, which wyll shortly be pubyshed, for, as yett, yt is very secrete; so that I have, by a very secrete frende, advertysment thereoff, wherfore I humble desyre your Lo. *to kepe yt close a day or two.*" (*Talbot MS. Hopkinson, v.* 33, *p*, 24.)

After the peace had been concluded, Sir George obtained leave of absence from the Duke of Norfolk; and Sir Francis

* Whilst the Duke was at Newcastle, he wrote to Cecil on the 10th January, 1559-60, on the disordered state of religion.—"For as muche as I doo fynde this towne and country her about farre oute of order in matters of religion, and the aulters standing still in the churches, contrarie to the quenes majesties procedings, it shall be well doone that you procure her majesties comands to be addressed to the Dean of Durham and such others as shal be thought mete there, auctorising them to see these things refourmed in such sorte as shall answer to the advancement of God's *true* religion, and the confirmacon of the quenes majesties godlie zeale therto."—*Orig S. P.*

† Mr Surtees says this honor was conferred on him by the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1558, which is evidently incorrect—Sir George was serving at Berwick in 1558, 1559, and 1560, and according to the monthly pay lists he first appears as a knight in May, 1560, and an old catalogue in the Herald college expressly states he was knighted by the Duke of Norfolk. The marshall is named as being appointed to lead 200 men to the first assault of Leith, (*Talbot Papers, v. E. p* 97.) He was in charge of the towne and castle of Berwick on the departure of Sir R. Sadler, and he was succeeded by Sir F. Leak. Sir George was reappointed Marshall by Elizabeth, 9th Nov. 1559.

Leak states, incidentally, to Cecil, that he was still absent on the 29th August, 1560.*

It may be presumed, that he resigned an office which was so very onerous; and which required an open table, with slight appointments. He does not appear to have returned to Berwick; and it was not until after repeated applications from Lord Grey, the governor and warden of the East Marches, that Sir Thomas Dacres, knight,† of Lanercost, was appointed by the Queen, his successor, on the 19th June, 1561, who was suc- by William Drury on the 21st Feb. 1563-4.

Sir George Bowes returned to the county of Durham, and fulfilled the duties of his rank and station. In 1562, he was appointed high sheriff of the county of York.

In 1565, he applied to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to procure the "redilevery" of the armour and weapons of the North Riding, which had been lately delivered to the captains of Berwick; and requesting his lordship to write to the Earl of Bedford, to obtain the same, "for sewrlye, by the delyverie herof, your Lo. shall opteyne great honor, and wynne greate good will of the gentillmen, and inhabitants of the countree, wiche boldenethe me to move your L. to call earnestly for the sayd armoure." South Cowton, 5th April, 1565.—(*Talbot Papers; Lodge, v.* 1, *p.* 361.)

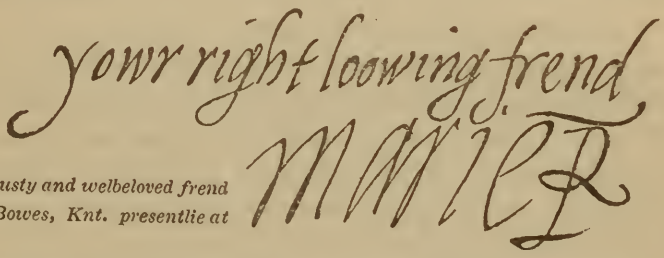
* Sir Francis Leak writes to Cecil in September, 1560, on the difficulty of procuring a successor to Sir George Bowes as marshall:—"And to name yowe eny northern gentleman of goode possessions to be marshall heare, consydering hys charge shal be suche as of necessitie he must kepe a table, wheryn ys an unreasonable expense and hys enterteynment is presently so small, as I do not knowe eny man of estymacon that wyll wyllyngly take a charge, wheryn, before hys entring he ys sewer of losse and peryll;" and again, the marshall "beyng the *second* parson heare, of very necessytie he muste meynteyn the estate of hys callyng, with kepyng a good howse yn thys town, whyche wyll not be, onles eyther hys enterteynment be therafter (good) or hys own possessyons: or els necessytie will engender corrupcyon, and I wolde not wyshe eny of the offycers of this towne to haunte the ordynarye bordes heare at Vld. the meale, amongest common solgars, as the treasorer, and the gentleman porter, and the master of the ordynans do."—*Orig. S. P.*

† The Earl of Bedford, who succeeded Lord Grey in his charge 24th Feb. 1563-4, and arrived at Berwick on the 29th March, 1564, writes to Cecil on the 10th March, 1564-5, mentioning the marriage of Lord Semples son, and says, "The Lady Dacres, wife to Sir Thomas Dacres, *late Marshall*, was present therat—the young married man being her sister's son. She wold not go by Carlile, and so passe by the Maxwells, but came hither and passed by my sauf conduccon. She was very well used by that Quene, and at her departure presented with a chayne worth three score pounds. The Quene there, so misliked her attyre, which was of fashion verie playne and comely after the english manner, that thereforee she lost a suit of apparell of the french fashion, which els the Quene would have given her."—*Orig.* S. *P.*

The year 1568 was distinguished by the arrival of Mary, Queen of Scotts, who, though confiding on the protection and hospitality of Elizabeth, was immediately conducted to Carlisle Castle, and treated as a prisoner. When it was determined to remove her further from the borders, Sir George Bowes was directed to escort her to Bolton Castle";* and the circumstances are detailed in the following letter from Sir F. Knolles to Cecil :—" I am desyred by Sir George Bowes, the berer hereof, to commend hys reasonable sutes unto your favorable furderance; the which I thinke myselfe more bownd to doo, because my Lord Scrope and I have used his onlye service in the removinge of this Queen from Carlisle

* Eleven years afterwards, the Queen retained a lively remembrance of his courtesy, as appears by the following letter, which her secretary Nau brought to Sir George Bowes, when he held the charge of Berwick.—*Orig. Bowes MS. vol.* 1, *p.* 30.

" Right trusty and welbeloved frend. Efter long sewte having obteaned licence of the Quene our good sister and cousine to send in our Realme of Scotland to visite oure deare chyld the Prince ther, and to that end made choice of our Secretare present bearer; we have hereby thowght nedefull to pray yow, that like as our said good sister of her goodnes toward us and her counsale by just considerations have recomended him, yow will in your charge presently shew him no les dew favor in all he may nede, being a stranger in those parts, then we may looke for by your courtoisy used unto our self in all lefull maner at out abode in Bowtonn and that we know no signe of unthankfulnes since, on our syde which can move your discontinewance in this Journay, no more then at any other occasion you shall fynd in tyme cuming, will God, unto whose protection we comit you. At Shefeild manor the vijth of June, 1579.



Addressed :—

" To our right trusty and welbeloved frend Sir George Bowes, Knt. presentlie at Berweik,"

As the letter which Nau brought was addressed to James as " Prince," only it was not opened—and James, then only thirteen years of age, wrote the following letter of excuse to his mother on the 29th January, 1580. " Madame, je vous supplie tres humblement de croire, que ce na poinct este de ma bonne vollonte que vostre segretaire sen scoit retorne sens quil maye donne vostre lettre, et faict entendre ce que luy avies commende de me dire, ayent heu beaucoub de regret de ce qui sen est passe, car je serois infinyment fache que long crust que je ne vous vouluse porter l'honneur et le devoir que je vous doibs, ayent esperance que avecque le temps Dieu me fera la grasce de vous faire pruve de ma bonne et afectionne amytie, sacheut asses, quapres luy, touct l'honneur quay en ce monde, je le tiens de vous."——He then thanks her for the present of a ring, and sends her another in return, trusting that she will continue to give him council and advice.—Dated " Lisle-bour" (Edinburgh) 29th January, 1580.—*Original S. P.*

An original letter of Nau to M. de Mauvissiere the French Ambassador, giving an account of the failure of his mission, dated 7th July, 1579, has been discovered by Prince Alex. Labanoff, at Paris, and will be printed in his History of Mary Queen of Scotts.—*Letter from P. Labanoff, Paris, 2nd May,* 1839.

hether ; the which was the more chargeable to him, bycause he repayred twyce thether—fyrst with a hundred armed lyght horsemen, the which wee retorned backe before they came to Carlysle, by cause this Quene refused at that tyme to be removed ; but within eight dayes after, we sent for hym agayne, to come to us with fortye armed lyght horsemen, the which he brought in very good order, and so we removed hyr grace. Also a good part of the hanging and bedding of this howse is furnished by him, for the which he is worthey of thanks at the Quenes Majesties hande ; since otherwise we had bin destitute of convenient stuffe for hyr Majestie's honor. He is also a good Protestant, and his brother lykewyse, which is a rare matter in this contrye."—*Orig. S. P.* 24*th Oct.* 1568. *Bolton.*

On the 4th of February, 1568-9, he writes to Cecil, from Streatlam, in reply to a letter from the privy council, about furnishing quicksets to be placed in the hedges of Northumberland, for the enclosure of the frontiers ; which, he says, if he had money, and power to enter other men's grounds, he thinks he could supply ; but not from his own lands, which be " small in effect " for that purpose.—*Orig. S. P.*

In the same year the rebellion began ; whose rise, progress, and termination, have been related in the foregoing pages. Rumours preceded the rising. The Earls were called before the president and council of the north, and their declarations appear to have satisfied the council ; yet they had no sooner returned to their houses, than the reports of intended risings were again circulated. The arrest of several noblemen of the highest rank, closely connected with the court, and more particularly of the Duke of Norfolk, the first subject in the realm, encreased the general alarm. Dark rumours of an intention to overthrow the protestant religion were widely spread ; and Sir George Bowes, who was living in the immediate vicinity of the Earl of Westmoreland—a gallant soldier and a zealous Protestant—immediately entered into an active and confidential correspondence with the Earl of Sussex. His letters abound with interesting details ; and he more particularly directs the attention of the Earl, to the constant passage of men, under suspicious circumstances, towards Brancepath, the seat of the Earl of Westmoreland. The

Lord President again required the attendance of the Earls, who declined to obey his summons ; and he then desired Sir George to look to his own safety. Sir George, who was unwilling to believe that the Earls would proceed to any "open action," yet, from the character of some of the parties who repaired to Brancepath, he thought it prudent to leave his castle of Streatlam ; and on the 12th of November, he repaired to the Queen's castle of Barnard Castle, of which he was steward, and hastily assembled around him his household, tenants, and friends.

As the rebel confederacy increased in numbers, they became more daring. Sir George Bowes was empowered to levy men for the service of the Queen ; and the well-affected gentlemen of the neighbourhood, unable to obey the Queen's orders in raising men in their several districts, assembled at Barnard Castle, and placed themselves under his command. Sir George considered the time had now arrived for the adoption of more active measures ; and he therefore sent his cousin, Robert Bowes, to the council at York, to ask permission to seize some of the straggling parties whose presence created so much alarm ; that by this means he might ascertain their objects, and by so doing cripple the means of the Earls, and restore peace and tranquillity.

The reply of the council was timid and discouraging, and events were allowed to take their course.

On the 14th of November, the Earls entered Durham, and there could be no longer any doubt of their ulterior intentions. As their numbers encreased, they advanced southwards, apparently with the design of releasing the Queen of Scots from her prison at Tutbury : and although their army appears to have been hastily collected and badly armed, yet there was no sufficient force to oppose their progress, and the Earl of Sussex had now to look to his own safety in York. Sir George Bowes having in the meanwhile hastily fortified Barnard Castle with the the best means in his power, was now most anxious to join the Earl of Sussex at York. The Earl, however, directed him to remain, and to urge the dispatch of troops from the north and west ; and to communicate daily with him on the progress of the Earls.

The rebels advanced to Clifford Moor unmolested : their prin-

cipal force consisted of cavalry, in which arm the Earl of Sussex was deficient; he therefore remained closely entrenched at York, watching their progress, and waiting the arrival of the levies from the south; and directed Sir George, if the rebels should still advance, that he would then join him without delay. But from whatever cause, whether arising from want of means, timidity, disappointment in aid from abroad or friends at home, or quarrels amongst themselves, they suddenly retreated towards the Bishoprick; and having no good will towards Sir George, who had been their constant and active opponent, they resolved to lay seige to Barnard Castle; which, after a close investment of eleven days, under every species of discouragement, and even of treason within, he was obliged to surrender, on honourable composition. Sir George marched out with a diminished, but gallant and faithful band of followers, to join the royal army; which was now advancing, under the command of the Earl of Sussex, backed by the Queen's newly-formed levies from the south. Sir George joined the Earl at Sessay, from whence he dates his letter to Cecil, giving a graphic and melancholy account of the surrender of his charge. (*p.* 99.)

He was immediately appointed Provost-Marshall of the army within the limits of the Earl's commission; which extended to the counties of York, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland; and returned to the Bishoprick under the command of the Earl of Sussex.

On the approach of the Royal army, the rebels, finding themselves pressed by superior forces on the south, and by the garrison of Berwick on the north, suddenly disbanded their infantry, and fled with their cavalry towards Hexham; from whence they dispersed in all directions, but principally towards Scotland, where they sought protection and refuge.

The work of retaliation and punishment now begun, and the Queen's vengeance was unsparing. The richer rebels purchased their lives, but the poor misled followers of the Earls were doomed to an ignominious death; and the Queen, with her natural parsimony, commanded their immediate execution, so that the army might be disbanded. The executions began at Durham, under the special direction of the Earl of Sussex,

and were continued by the Marshall, under the Earl's daily commands, in virtue of his office.*

Sir George Bowes has been accused of cruelty in the fulfilment of this arduous duty. Without being his apologist, yet,

* Lord Sussex writes to Cecil from Darnton, January 23rd, 1569-70. "I was first a lieutenant, I was after little better than a Marshall; I had then nothing left to me but to direct *hanging matters*."—*S. P.*

At Durham was executed "Parson" Plomtree, called in St. Nicholas Register, "Maister Plumbetre," their preacher, whose tragical end has been celebrated in a ballad, from which the following is a quotation:—

A ballad intituled a newe well a daye,
As playne maister Papist, as Donstable way,
Well a daye, well a daye, well a daye, woe is mee,
Syr Thomas Plomtrie is hanged on a tree.

Among manye newes reported of late,
As touching the Rebelles their wicked estate,
Yet Syr Thomas Plomtrie, their preacher they saie,
Hath made the north countrie, to crie well a daye.
Well a daye, well a daye, well a daye, woe is mee,
Syr Thomas Plomtrie is hanged on a tree.

The above, as well as the three extracts which follow, are from broad sheets of the time, which have happily survived their day, and are now in the very rare and curious treasures of George Daniel, Esq. of Islington, a most intelligent and liberal collector.

A ballad rejoycing the sodaine fall,
Of rebels that thought to devower us all.

It was the Erle of Westmerland,
That thought himselfe so sure;
By the aide of his rebellious bande,
His countrie to devoure;
The Erle eke of Northumberland,
This tratterous parte did take;
With other rebels of this lande,
For *ave Marie's* sake.

Joyful newes for true subjects, &c.

The Westmerlande *Bull*, and man in the *Moone*,
The *beare* hath brought their braverie downe;
I dare saye for sorrowe they are redy to swoone,
That ever they ymagynde to trouble the crowne.
Come humble ye downe, come humble ye downe;
Perforce now submit ye to the Queene and the crowne.

The Plagues of Northumberland (to the tune of Appelles).

When that the *moone*, in Northumberland,
After the chaynge, in age well coune,
Did rise with force, then to withstande,
The light and bright beames of the soune.
The sorrowful dolers soone began,
Through Percies pryde to many a man.
But then anone, the Westmere *Bull*,
Behelde the rysinge of this moone,
Thinking that shee had byn at full,
He hastyd then anone full soone,
With horse, and armes, and all his might,
From parfect daye, to uncertaine lyght.

Q. John Barker.

when it is considered that the rancour of the rebels had been more peculiarly directed against himself and his property, it cannot be considered extraordinary, that, under such circumstances and in such times, he should exercise his duties with stern vigour and even severity; but there is no authentic proof that he was actuated by vindictive motives or cruelty in the performance of his official duty, which was purely executive; for the lists were all arranged beforehand, and the parties who were to suffer were especially noted by the Earl of Sussex. The extent of discretion which was permitted to him in the terrific warrant of the 10th of January, was, that he might execute more or less in different towns, to make the greater impression. In the instructions which Sir George gave to his brother-in-law, Thomas Middleton, and others, in collecting the fees due to the Marshall "of such as were rebels," he specially directs them to "doo yt with as lyttel offence to the people as ye can;" and with regard to the inventories of those who were executed, he charges them to sell their goods "to the wyfes and chyldren of the parties dead, *favorable*," so that they may be "reasonably contented."* The impatience of the Queen, however, to be released from the expense of keeping up an army when the rebellion was crushed, and which necessarily limited the time in which the executions were to be performed, would not always admit of the exercise of the nicest discrimination in the selection of the most criminal parties: and no doubt many would suffer, whose participation was comparatively venial. Sir George, in his letter to

In the University Library, Cambridge, there is a very lengthy black letter ballad of one hundred and one verses, entitled *an Aunswere to the Proclamation of the Rebels in the North*, 1569, of which the following gives rather a favourable impression:—

If lenity may make men rise
Or meeknesse gender yre,
If cold may cause the coles to burne?
Or water kindell fire?
If adamant may thrust away
The iron or the steel,
Or shining sun the naked man,
May cause the colde to feele?
Then may our Queene Elizabeth
Be thought to be the cause,
Why these rebels do go about
The breaking of hir lawes.

The "Rising of the North" is too well known to require quotation.

* Bowes MS. vol. 2, p. 26.

the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North (p. 184), says, that none were executed by him, who did not confess that they were in actual rebellion two days at least after the first pardon, and "stirrers" of the rest of their neighbours. The lenity and forbearance practised by victorious soldiers after an unsuccessful rebellion, has seldom been a theme of praise.

The Earl of Sussex soon repaired to Court to render an account of the services of the army; and he committed the charge of Richmondshire and the County of Durham to Sir George Bowes.

In the month of May following, Sir George considered it his duty to pay his court to the Queen; and the Earl of Sussex gave him the following letter to present to her Majesty:—

"It may please your most excellent Majestie: having had profe as well in the late rebellion as at this present, of the good service of this bearer Sir George Bowes, and of his faithfullness towards your Majestie, I am bolde at his repaire to your highnes, to recomende to your Majestie the service he hath don here in the tyme of my chardge.

"At the beginning of the Rebellion he entered into Barney Castell, gathered to him the force of the gentlemen of those parts, and putt himselfe in a redynes to have joyned with the forces that sholde have come from the borders; which failinge, he was beseiged within the Castell, spoiled of his whole goods, and his houses defaced, and forced, partly by the treason of the people within the Castell, and partly by other lacks, to deliver the Castle upon composition.

"After his coming from Barnard Castle, he was Marshall of your Majesties army under my chardge, wherin he discharged his office in all respects to your Majesties best service. At my coming to your highness, I left him with the chardge of the Bishoprick and Richmondshire, which during my absens he kept in good order and obediens.

"Since my coming hether, I gave chardge to the Lord Evers and him to raise the power of the Bishoprick, according to the custome of the country, and to repayre therwith to the borders, for the defence thereof, when I entered into Tivedale; who with a thousand hable men came to the borders, and defended it in suche

sorte, as in the tyme of my absence, no Scott offered to loke within the English grounde. At my returne out of Tivedale, the Lord Evers returned with the men into the Bishopricke, and Sir George Bowes remayned with certen horsemen at his own charge to go to the siege of Hume, and continued with me untill my retorne from thence; and perceiving ther is presently no further service wherin to imploy him here, he is desirowse to make his repaire to your highnes.

"His trewthe to your Majestie is well proved, his habilitie in everie respecte to serve you is well knowen; his service hath ben worthy moch comendacon, and [he is] equall with the best of this countrey [for] birthe, and his losses have been very great, which dothe imbolden me to be an humble sutor to your highnes that it may please you to have graciouse consideration of him in all reasonable cawses; and so referring him further to the reporte of Sir R. Sadler, who knoweth him and his services in the late rebellion, I shall pray to God longe to preserve your Majestie in a prosperowse raigne.—From Barwicke the xx of May, 1570. Your Majesties most humble, faythful, subject and servant, T. SUSSEX."

—*Orig. S. P.*

"The penurious habits of Elizabeth, in rewarding even the most faithful of her adherents, are well known. The family of Bowes had perilled everything for the Crown;" yet when so much was placed at her disposal by the attainders, she suffered one of her best and bravest subjects to languish neglected and oppressed with difficulties, created solely by his unflinching loyalty and devotion to her service. He was recommended to remind her Majesty that he had claims on her justice, and even on her bounty; he therefore preferred the following memorial of his services:—

"Causes to move the Quenes Majestie to be good and gratyus Ladye to me Sir George Bowes, Knighte, hir Majestie's servant, as well in respect of my chardges and losses in the layt rebellyon, as of my longe and chardgable servyces done to her Majestie—

"In the beginninge of the layt Rebellion in the Northe, I, and my deare freinds, assembled within the Countye of Durham

and lybertyes of Rychmondshire, to withstand and incounter the rebells, and levyed and set forth two hundred and fiftie horsemen and three hundred fotemen: the rest of countenance then ether toke part with the rebells, or else withdrewe from the place of servyce.

"Next, for the better th advancement of hir Majesties service in those parts, I enterteyned at my owne costs, all the gentlemen that resorted to me to serve hir Majestie, susteyninge therby very great chardges, without any allowance for the same; and also I was the chefest meane and instrument to pass and conveye all letters from the L. Levetenant and others, to the three wardens and noblemen in those parts, sendynge oftentymes syndry thorowe posts of good credytt, without anye allowance for the same. The rebells have spoyled and tayken all my goods and cattell goynge uppon any [of] my grownds, with all my household stuff, and all manor off provycione for mayntenance of a house, and have threshed and carried awaye all my corn frome all places, to the value of three thousand pounds. They have utterly defaced my principall house, pullynge downe and carrienge awaye the glasse and iron of the wyndowes, and all syalynge and doors, and some part of the coverynge, beinge leade. They have spoyled and carried away frome my said house all my evydence, charters, leases and wrytyngs, that concernyd all my lands, to the extreme prejudice of me and my heirs for ever. I was bownde as surtye in great somes for syndrye of theym, which sence ther fleyinge, I have been dryven to paye. I have also served the Quenes Majestie as hir Marshall at Barwick, and in all services that hir Majestie hayth had norwards; and was at great chardge in attendynge Sir Francis Knolls for the conveyance of the Skottyshe Quene frome Carlyll to Bolton. I dyd leade forthe of the countye of Durham, which served without wages, two hundred horsemen and three hundred fotemen durynge the tyme the Earle of Sussexe, hir Majesties L. Levetenant, entrede into Tevydaill; and served with his Lordship without wages all the journaye at Hume."—*Copy—(corrected by Sir George)—Bowes MS. vol. 2, p. 33.*

He was elected M. P. for Knaresborough, in the short parliament of 1571; and was returned for Morpeth, in 1572: and it

was not until the 4th of November, 1572, that the Queen tardily granted a slender reward unto this faithful defender of her throne and religion.

On the 7th July, 1572, Sir Walter Mildmay writes to Mr. Fanshawe, the Queen's Remembrancer, requiring him to send a "perfect particular of the parcells undre written, asserteyning therein all things requisite to be considered in the graunting of the same in fee farme."

Com. Ebor.—Serteyne lands in Thorpe, Grauntley, Ellarton, and Bolton, Staineley, Woodhowse, and Gruellthorpe; parcell of the lands and possessions of Thomas Markenfield, late attainted.

Epat. Dunel.—Serteine lands in Offerton, parcell of the poss. of John Swynborne—one tenement in Fishborne, called Carterhowse, with th appurtenances.—p. ann. xls. parcell poss. Rob. Tempest.—*Orig. Bowes MS. v.* 1, *p.* 25.

The letters patent, dated the 4th Nov. 14th Eliz. state that —"in consideration of the faithful service of Sir George Bowes, especially in the late rebellion," the Queen had granted to him and to John Hutton and David James, the lordship of Bradley, being part of Robert and Michael Tempest's estate, attainted; the lordship of Scruton, and Markington, in co. York, part of the estate of Thomas Markenfield, attainted; with all privileges and customs in Bradley, Rogerley, Frosterley, Sonneyside, Blackbank, Dryborne-syde, Newlandside, Rucopp and Wolsinghom, in co. Durham; and in Scruton and Markington, in co. York; also, four messuages and 120 acres of land, in Colierly, with the messuage in Vyhurst (alias) Ivyhurst, and Lince; and three mess. in Murdon als Morden; and one mess. in Brusplatte part of the said Tempest's estate, in co. Durham; two mess. in Sunderland, part of John Swinborne's estate, attainted; one mess. called Carter House, in Fishbourne,* part of Tempest's estate; one mess. five closes, and two copices of wood, called Dalbank-spring, and Middleton-spring, co. York, out of Markenfield's estate; and those mess. in Unthank, in parish of Romykirk; and the mess. in Ellerton with Bolton, Laverton, Grantley

* Thomas Platte, a servant of the bishop of Durham, offers forty pounds for a farme in Fishburne, (formerly Tempest's) and now in the occupation of Thomas Gayle,—6th May, 1579.—*Orig. Bowes MS. v.* 2, *p.* 15;—and some of the Yorkshire estates were sold to Thomas Danby, Esq. three years after they were granted.—*Whitaker's Richmond, v.* 2, *p.*69.

with Hungate, and Kirk Staynley, the said Markenfield's estate. Bradley, Scruton, &c. to be held, in capite, by the service of the fortieth part of a knights fee; paying various charges.

There is now no means of ascertaining the value of these grants, which consisted principally of unenclosed lands; they were burthened with heavy reserved rents.

Sir George possessed five twenty-fourths of Bradley, by purchase; and he was also owner of lands in Romaldkirk and Unthank, before the Rebellion. [Bradley now belongs to Thomas Bowes, Esq. of Durham, and Unthank belongs to John Bowes, Esq. of Streatlam.] The rest of the property appears to have been alienated soon after it was granted, to repair the losses and injuries inflicted by the rebellion.

He held a commission from George, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1st Oct. 1573, who stiles him his "well-beloved kinsman," to be his deputy justice in Eyre, of all the chaces and forests* within the county of Durham and Richmondshire.—*Bowes MS. vol.* 4, *p.* 25.

Sir George Bowes was appointed high sheriff of the county palatine, by the Queen, on the 27th July, 1576, the see being vacant (*Orig. Bowes MS*); and he was continued in the shrievalty by Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham, by letters patent, dated the 20th June, 1577, (*Orig. Bowes MS.*) From the year 1570 to 1579, no family papers have been discovered to throw any light on his peculiar engagements;—but, his active mind, his parliamentary duties, and the obligations of his rank and station, would afford abundant employment; yet, it is to be

* In January, 1610, James I. grants, in reversion,—"The office of master and keeper of all the forests, chaces, parkes, and warrens, within the lordship of Barnardcastle, to Talbot Bowes, and Thomas Bowes, for the term of their natural lives: and the longer liver of them, with the office of steward of the same lordship, and constable and porter of the same castle, with the usual fees thereto belonging,—which said offices were heretofore granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, *unto George Bowes* (afterwards Knight Marshall) and William Bowes, now knight, during their lives. George Bowes is sithence deceased; but Sir William Bowes is now in possession of the said offices."—*P. S. Records.*

In September, 1635, the reversion of the "custodie of Teasdale forest and Marwood chace" was granted by Charles I. to Sir Henry Vane, who was succeeded by Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle; and on the 15th July, 1685, the office of master forester and chief warden of the king's forests and chaces, within the lordship of Barnard Castle, and chief ranger of the forest of Teasdale, and chace of Marwood, were conferred upon Sir William Bowes; the King (James) saying—"Sir William Bowes was an honest gentleman, and, having petitioned for them, 'twas fitt he should have the place."—*Orig. letter from* O. *Wynne.—Bowes MS. v. A, p.* 9.

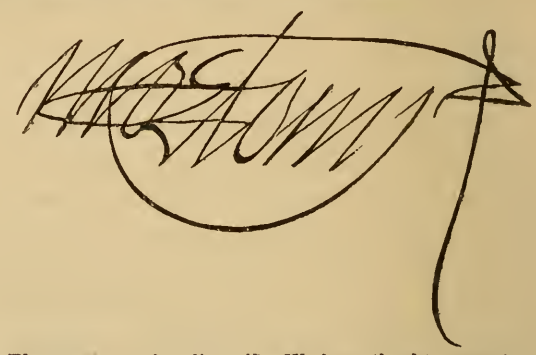
regretted that none of his correspondence has been preserved during that period.*

Early in 1579, his brother Robert, having great and weighty "causes" in London, as well as the settlement of his long

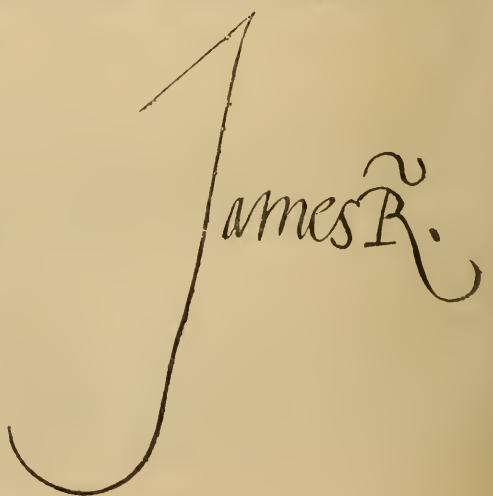
* The following letters are selected out of a considerable number, not from the importance of their contents, but on account of the rank and station of their writers;—

The first is from the Earl of Morton.—"My lord—efter my very hartlie comendationes—This berer, Johnne Currie, scottisman, being mareit in England, reparit laitlie in this realme with his wyff, to visite his frendis; and now, mynding to returne with his wyff and a servand, hes desirit my letter to your L. in thair favor, for thair paspoirt, quilk I will hartlie requiest yor L. to grant unto thame quhair throw thai be not trublit be the way, as you will do me thankful pleasure, and have me readle to schaw ye like favor to ony of your cuntremen, at your comendation. And I comyt you to the protection of God. At Dalkeith, the first of Junij, 1579,—Your very assured freind, in lefull maner—

—*Orig. Bowes MS.*



"Trustie and weilbelovit. We great you hertlie well. We have thocht convenient to direct to our dearest suster, the Queen, your soufrane, the beirare hereof, James Murray, oure trustie servaunt, with oure letters and credite. We require you thairfoir effectuuslie to grant unto him, with sic as he bringis to accumpany him, favorable and redcy passage; and yor commissioun to be anserit of post horses for his better expeditioun or to pas jorney on his awin horses, with your testemony that he be not impedit in returnyng of thame, as you will do us thankfull and gude pleasyr. Thus we comit you to God. At our castell of Striveling the third day of July, 1579.—Youre verie loving frend—



To oure trustie and weilbelovit
Sir George Bowes, Knycht,
Present Governor of Berwick

—*Orig. Bowes MS.*

deferred claims and accounts with government; Sir George took charge of the garrison of Berwick, and also of the duties of his brother as treasurer; which were extremely onerous, as the supplies from the crown were slow and scanty, and the pay of the garrison was always deeply in arrear; and the officers were proportionately dissatisfied.

Lord Hunsdon, the governor, was in London, (but Lady Hunsdon was living at Berwick); and there was no Marshall resident, to preserve order and due subordination.

He also conducted his brother's correspondence with many of the leading political characters in Scotland; which throws considerable light on the internal condition of that country. The copies of many of his letters to his brother are preserved, (*Bowes MS. vol.* 6) from which the following are brief extracts:—

On the 27th April, he entreats his brother to procure his speedy "deliverance"; and, amongst other troubles in the garrison, he says "there is great contention betwixt my Ladie of Hunsdon and the farmers of the fishinge for the sondayes fishe."

On the 2nd May he writes, in reply to his brother's account of his gracious reception, that he is very glad of the Queen's good acceptation of his service, and advises him to "take tyme when tyme is, and be bold and blush not for fearfulness or abashfulness in these tymes,".....for "sure your service hath deserved much more then you require."

On the 6th May, he wishes his brother's causes were dispatched; but he adds considerately, "care not for me."

On the 11th of May, he writes, that he thinks the "affaires here awaye hath passed the flood Lethe in Caron's bote," and so he fears his abode will be long and wearisome; and says, "I have bene sicke a daye or two, so as I could not come out of my chamber, nor yett out of my bedd, but now, thanks be to God, ame some what recovered;" he also states, that the "people here be halfe mad," and complains of "the governor's ladye meddling dayngerousleye in every accon."

On the 1st of June, he writes, that his abode at Berwick is "bothe costly and comersome."

On the 5th, he writes, "I am not well able to wryt myself, for that I dare not hang downe my head, but yet goeth about. My

doctor is come to me, and I meane to enter into visick to-morrow," he wishes to know who he is to send up with the "*portratur.*"*

On the 10th June,—"I am prettely well recoveryd, thanks be to God, and hath bene this day at the counsell house, being the first day of my goinge abrode; and my doctor is returned."

On the 15th he writes,—"Monsr. Nau, the Scottish Quene's Secretary came to this town yesterday, and passeth into Scotland to-morrow.....He brought with him a letter directed from the Scottish Quene unto me, wherin was no other matter but to use the Secretary favorably: the copie of which I have sent to Mr. Sec. Walsingham." (*p.* 379.)

On the 26th, he writes, that he hath bene "greatly troubled" with his late disease.

On the 21st August, he states his expenses to be about 14 or £15. a week; and that he has been nearly three-quarters of a year at Berwick; and adds, that his abode has been such a great "charge and losse" that he doubts if he will be able to recover it in two years. "Cares doth marvelouslye trouble my heade, but I shall comforthe me in God."

On the 26th, he writes—"what losse or danger so ever yt be, I wyll tarrye your leysure, and not wearye, what greife soever growe.....truelie brother, I think myne abode shall make me remane here for ever, for being (as you well know) before my cominge hether, gretlie trobled with sickness, it hath since gretlie increased uppon me, and is now growen to that passe, as the phesicons whom I was dreven to send for, saie, that if I do not spedelie chaunge into better aire, I am like to be of no longe contynewance; and withall I am so offended in memorie, that yf I get any helth I am forced to use the same to sports and recreation, rather then to ymploye myself in such things as were more requisite for this place, which had need to have a sounder man

* This was a portrait of James, by a Flemish painter (not named) which, from the constant troubles, had been long in progress. On the 5th May, 1579, Archibald Douglass writes, that the painter had been driven out of Stirling; but he is now "travelling to obteyne hym lycence to se the King's presence thrise in the daie, till the end of hys worke"; and on the 3rd of June, he writes, that he will send, within three days, "the king our sovereignes portrator, according to his proporcon in all parts, which has been so longe in makinge, and so difficult in getting, that I have been allmost weryed therewith." .....he desires, that Sir George will provide a convenient messenger for carrying the portrait "quilk I beleife sal be worthy of the presenting to hir Majestie, by your broder." —*Bowes MS.*

than I, who am both faled in bodie and memorie.....Wherefore I shall desyer you, good brother, to hasten, by your spedy returne, or otherwaies, as it shall stand with her Majesties pleasure, whose, in humble service, I am to the uttermost of my power to bestow in the same, my lyff, lands, and goods, and hath served her highnes in tymes past, and (now releved) may yet by God's good pleasure be able to serve her Majestie againe."—*Bowes MS. copy, corrected by Sir George, v. 3, p. 26.*

This letter shews that in all his troubles of mind or body, and even with the failure of memory, there was no forgetfulness of his constant duty and loyalty to his sovereign; and of his devotion and attachment it might justly be said, that

> "—— loyalty is still the same,
> Whether it win, or lose the game—
> True as the dial to the sun,
> Altho' it be not shone upon."

On the 22nd of Sept. he writes—"The plague is in this towne, and yt ys now knowne that your maid dyed on the plague, and one of her brethren dyed sence.....Mr. Maior, by my direccon, hath now shoot upp the house."

Sir George left Berwick shortly afterwards, and Robert Bowes writes to Lord Burghley from Berwick, on the 2nd of November, 1579, (of which letter Sir George was the bearer,) requesting his lordship's favour and mediation in one of his law suits; he has therefore "chosen in this his diseased estate of his body, to come up and attend upon your L. and others, beynge neverthelesse bothe unable to endure any longe travell, and also assured to susteyne excedynge great losse by his absence."—*Orig. Bowes MS. v. 17, 20.*

He was still in London on the 12th January, 1579-80, when he writes to his brother (now at Berwick) that he intends to be at the York assizes. The news of the day, he tells him, is, that the marriage is on foot again, and that "her highnes semes as forward as ever."*

* Yet he adds, "Sir William Drury whom you well knowe to be a setter furthe of that cause, having occasion to ride unto the country on Thursday last; and using some speaches upon that matter to her Majestie, did, with great reverence, inquier of her Majesties disposition that way; who, giving him a great clappe of the shoulder with her hande, aunswerd, 'I will never marrye; but I wyll ever bear good wyll and favour to thoes that hathe lyked and forthered the same.'"

He complained much of indisposition in 1579 ; and it would seem probable that his death was occasioned by a continuation of that illness. He died on the 1st of August, 1580, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Mr. Surtees says, (vol. 4, p. 50,) that—" Supported by high connections, and distinguished by military skill and statesman-like wisdom, Sir George Bowes was, during a long and active life, one of the most faithful as well as powerful supporters of Elizabeth, and of the protestant interest in the north: and when the rash rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland broke out, his prompt and vigorous conduct gave the first important check to the insurgents. Surrounded on every side by the immediate retainers of the rebel Earls, and in the midst of a country either openly engaged in the rising, or more than wavering in their allegiance to the Queen, he threw himself into the [Queen's] fortress of Barnard Castle, and maintained a siege against the whole force of the insurgents for eleven days. The delay gave time for the advance of the Earls of Sussex and Warwick with the royal forces, and sealed the fate of the northern rebellion." Mr. Surtees adds truly, that, "his constant sales and leases of the unentailed property prove him in a state of constant embarrassment. Some portion, however, was granted to him of the estates forfeited in the rebellion ; but these also were soon converted into money for present need."..... The year 1580 "terminated the life of this brave and able soldier and statesman."

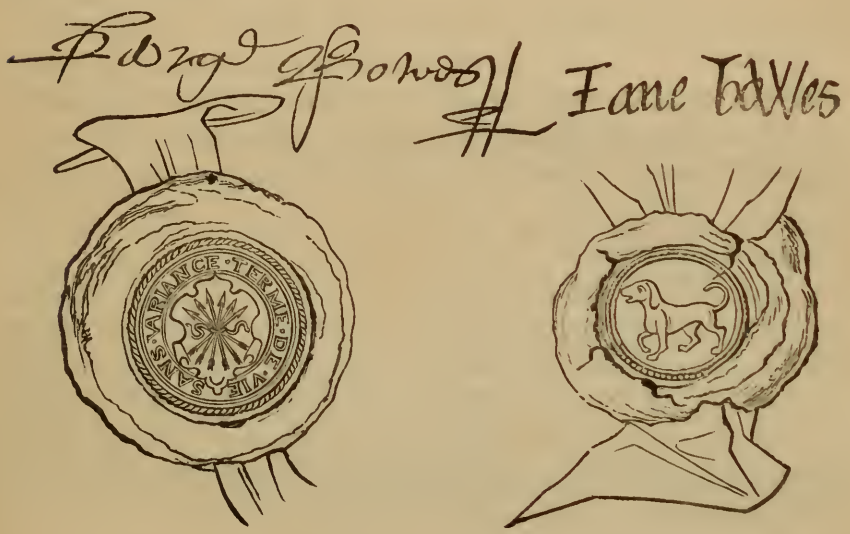
Sir George died at Streatlam, and was buried at Barnard Castle, in the vault of his ancestors.

Anxious to produce the best authority, which the opinion of a contemporary naturally affords, the following extract from a letter written by Christopher Rokeby, of Mortham Tower, Esq. to Lord Burghley, will be received as conclusive testimony of the exalted worth and gallant bearing of the subject of this memoir.

"My humble dutye premised unto your honourable lordship, not dowtynge or this your L. hathe hard how God hathe called Sir George Bowes to his marcie, whos deathe is myche to be laymented. This contre shall have a losse of him. He was the sureste pyllore the Quens Majestie had in thes partes:

such as I, that were his frendes and naybors thynkes ourselves weykened by the losse of hym. But I putt no dowte all we that is leffte shall stande faste in our dutyes to hyr Majestie, altho we thynke our selves nowe nakyd, withowte a heade to leane unto."*—*Orig. S. P.*

Autographs and seals of Sir George Bowes and his lady, 1560.—*Bowes MS.*



* The writer of this letter must have lived within the verge of the court; and the following letters to Sir George Bowes, in 1580, prove that he possessed the best intelligence of what was passing:—

"I here the parlement shal be put off to August, what day I knowe not; ther is no other newes that one may wryte of any sertenty, bud that men hereawayes, one dothe not love an other; ther is mayne newses gyven owt of the Spayneshe flet; some sayth they prepare towards the mowres; howe so ever yt be, we ar not so affrayed as at the fyrst. Yt is thought he gyveth some small ayde to Iarland: other wayes we are not in daynger. Yt is sayd, serten Turkes hathe poysoned a great nowmber amonge the Spaynesh flet; and that five Turkes should be tayken for the sayme. Yt is sayd, the Kyng of France wyll gyve over all government to Monsieur, so as for a tyme that wyll be a lett of his comynge. I hard yt of one of credyt, that the Quene sayd she wold have [him] to come, and so *who wold say to the contrary.* Th Erl of Layster, as yt is sayd, is well agreyd therunto, by reson wherof the Quene hathe grantyd hym an exchange of two hundred pounds a yere. As I lerne more, ye shall here of me, and so in hast. 17 June, 1580."

"The Prynce of Condye is proclaymed traytor in his countre: and this mornynge ayrely, he landyd in London, and tarryed bud three owers, and gotte a cotche, and went to the cowrt. The Franche Imbassador gott intelygens, and he postyd after, and my L. of Layster rose frome the Starre Chamber and folowyd. After that came a poste owte of France, and went streight to the cowrt. There is mayne feres yll shall growe hereby. The

Sir George Bowes was succeeded by the eldest son of his first marriage, Sir William, (knighted in 1585) who inherited much of his father's talent and resolute spirit; and, in early life, served on the borders, and in the garrison of Berwick, of which he was treasurer, and he was some time ambassador in Scotland. He was steward of Barnard Castle, for the crown; and master and keeper of the forests, &c. He spent many years at Blackwell, vainly soliciting to have his accounts examined and passed; and in constant correspondence with Sir Julius Cæsar, on the subject. He married, first, Mary, only daughter of Henry, ninth Lord Scrope, of Bolton, by whom he had an only daughter, Katherine, who married Sir William Eure; and, secondly, Isabel, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, widow of Godfrey Foljambe, esq. Sir William Bowes died at his wife's seat, Walton, on the 30th October, 1611,* and was buried at Chesterfield.

Franche Kynge hathe two great armyes up. My L. Chamberlayn is marvelously styrred at this gear. 23 June, 1580."

"I have wryten before of the Kynge of Navar and Prynce of Conde; bud my letters lay sex dayes in London, after I delyvered thaym. Conde remaynes secretly at the cowrt: no man gyves hym cowntenance bud Layster and Walsyngham. Yt is thowght he wyll fynd small ayde here, yet the Quene meynes to be a medyator for thaym; and yt is nowe sayd that Mownsier is to come to Ingland, to deall agaynst thaym. The cowrt was appointyd to remove this 29th of June, bud the Quene was not well, so yt stayes for iiij dayes: Layster and Warwyk hathe leve to lye abrode this sumer. Warwyk is gone this day, and Layster goyth within two dayes. Sussex was not at cowrt sens Conde came; bud I here, this day, he comes to the cowrt. My L. Tresorer tarryeth ther bud sondaye. This is all I can wryte of at this tyme. I meyne nowe to come downe, so sone as I can mayk shyft of horse and mony for my charges. 30 June, 1580."—*Orig. Bowes MS. v. 3.*

* On the decease of Sir William, at Walton, in 1611, the provisions of the entail created by the Knight Marshall, in 1569, were brought into immediate operation. "George, third son of the Knight Marshall, the next heir to Sir William, left (besides other issue) a son, Sir George Bowes, of Biddic, certainly heir male to the family; but George, the father, having died in 1606, before his elder brother Sir William, Sir Talbot Bowes, eldest surviving son of the Knight Marshall's second marriage, entered under the provisions of the entail on Streatlam, and the other estates. He, afterwards, with his younger brother, Thomas, made agreement with Sir George Bowes, by which the family estates were pretty equally divided in two portions (save that Sir Talbot was exclusively entitled, under his mother's settlement, to the Lunedale estates). Sir George had half of Streatlam and Staynton, Cleatlam and Barford. He was imprudent, and within a few years disposed of his right in Streatlam and Staynton, for a perpetual rent charge of £100 per annum. He afterwards sold this rent charge to Mat. Hutton, of Marske, from whom it was re-purchased by the widow of Thomas Bowes, esq. and merged in the estate. Cleatlam he sold to Ewbank, from whom it passed to a branch of the house of Somerset, and was re-acquired by Bowes of Streatlam; Barford alone was never re-purchased. The elder branch of Bowes, descending from Sir George, of Biddic, has dwindled in property, and retain only the seniority of their ancient blood, and the old tower and estate of Bradley, in Weardale. The prudence of Sir Talbot Bowes and his successors, especially, perhaps, of two long-surviving widows, regained for the younger line the possession of nearly the whole of the old home estates, swelled by marriage with the heiress of Gibside, and by several important purchases."—*Surtees, v. 4, p. 105.*

The second son of Sir George, (by his first wife,) Robert, was bred to the profession of the law. He engaged in working the royal mines at Keswick, where he was killed in 1600.

3.—George.

4.—Henry, who was steward to his brother, Sir William, lived at Raby, and Newburn, co. Northumberland: he married Anne Carnaby, of Kelso; and died in 1603, leaving no issue.

Sir George left three daughters by his first wife:—

1.—Elizabeth, married Sir Christopher Wandesford, of Kirklington, co. York.

2.—Agnes, married Sir John Conyers, of Sockburne, knt.

3.—Jane, died unmarried.

George Bowes, the third son of the Knight Marshall, of Biddic Waterville, esq. married Magdalen, daughter of Sir Edward Bray, next heir male to John, Lord Bray. He was living in October, 1604, when he received two hundred pounds, towards his charges "for the discovery of gold mines in Scotland."*—*P. Seal Records.*

He died soon afterwards, leaving a numerous family of sons and daughters; of whom it appears unnecessary to enter into further detail, and the reader is referred to the full and accurate pedigree (*Surtees, v.* 4, *p.* 110.) His second son, Sir George, who suffered the penalties of delinquency for his loyalty, was the direct ancestor of the last scion of the elder branch of the family, now worthily represented in the person of Thomas Bowes, of Bradley, and of Durham, esq. unmarried, and in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his second wife, Jane Talbot, the Knight Marshall had five sons and three daughters. He purchased for the eldest son, Francis, the wardship of Joan, daughter and coheir of William Headlam, of Nunthorpe, co. York, to whom he was, in due time, married. He died childless, and his widow re-married Ralph

* In the "very genuine and artless" will of George Bowes, dated 6th Nov. 1603, wherein he states, the commandment he has received for employment in the royal mines in Crawford Moor, he is very particular in regulating the occupations of his children; and directs that his daughter Bray shall be "a prentysse in London." This appears a strange destination for a young lady. On a further examination of the will, however, it stands thus—"my son——to be a prentysse"; but the expected son proved a daughter; and the only alteration made in the will was, to erase '*son*,' and insert '*daughter Bray*,' without effacing the words '*to be a prentysse*.'

Bray Bowes was baptised 2nd Jan. 1603-4, at Houghton-le-Spring.

Bowes, of Barnes, (whose descent was reprinted from the editor's notes, (*Surtees, vol.* 4, *p.* 112.)

2.—Talbot, baptised at Albrighton, 25th Nov. 1560, was at the university of Cambridge, in 1579; of Chelsea, in 1608; of Gray's Inn, in 1611; afterwards of Eggleston abbey and Aske, and, latterly, of Streatlam. He was returned eight times to Parliament, for the borough of Richmond. He entertained King James, at Aske; and was knighted by that Monarch, 24th April, 1617. He was master and keeper of the chaces, &c.* within the lordship of Barnard Castle, and steward of the castle (*p.* 389). He married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Warcop, of Smardale, co. Westmoreland. He died childless, and was buried at Barnard Castle, 14th Feb. 1637-8.

3.—Richard, died unmarried, whose splendid wardrobe is detailed in his will, (*Surtees, v.* 4, *p.* 5) was buried at Richmond, 31st Aug. 1599.

4.—Thomas.

5.—John, married Ursula, daughter of Christopher Davell, of Coxwould, co. York, and left two infant daughters.

Of the daughters of Sir George Bowes:—

1.—Anne, to whom Thomas, son and heir of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, knt. was an unsuccessful suitor (*Bowes MS.*) married Thomas Hilton (Baron Hilton); and, afterwards, John Delaval, of Dissington, esq.

2.—Elizabeth, (to whom the Queen was godmother) married Sir Timothy Hutton, of Marske.

* Charles P It is our pleasour, and we comand you, that upon the sight hereof, you faile not to delyver to Adam Newton, esq. or to any that shall bring from him unto you these presents, one fatt buck, of this season, to be killed in Marwood chace, and.....in Teasdale forest, within your charge [as] his occasion shall requyre. For your doing whereof this shall be your sufficient warrant. Geven at the court of Greenwich, this last of June, 1613.—*To Talbot Bowes, esq. master of our game, at Barnard Castle.—Orig. Bowes MS.*—Endorsed—"for Mr. Newton, *Dean of Durham.*"

Newton was a layman, and tutor to Prince Henry. In Nov. 1604, the King granted him two hundred pounds per annum, until he should be advanced to some other preferment, which was encreased to three hundred pounds, in Dec. 1604. In September, 1606, he was appointed to the deanery of Durham, with a dispensation for non-residence; and, in Dec. following, the King granted him and his wife, Katherine, a pension of two hundred pounds per annum for their lives.—*P. Seal Records.*

3.—Jane, was betrothed to John, son and heir of Robert Aske. Her portion was five hundred pounds; yet the marriage never took place, in consequence of religious scruples on the part of Sir George. She married, first, Thomas Chatterton, of Ireland, gent.; and secondly, Mr. Peacock.

Thomas Bowes, the fourth son of Sir George, was of Gray's Inn, and of Chelsea, and, afterwards, of Streatlam. He was sometime a gentleman pensioner. He married Ann, daughter of Thomas Warcop, of Tanfield, co. York, (14 Ap. 1600); and left three sons and one daughter:—

1.—Talbot, of Streatlam castle, was buried Dec. 6, 1654.

2.—Thomas.

3.—William, was living in 1646, and died *s. p.*

Anne, the daughter of Thomas Bowes, was baptized 29th May, 1606, at Chelsea; and married, first, Philip, third son of Sir Timothy Hutton, of Marske; [a scholar, and, afterwards, a lieutenant in Sir C. Vavasour's regiment for the Scotch expedition;] and, secondly, the Rev. Timothy Tullie, rector of Middleton, in Teasdale.

Thomas Bowes, above named, was baptized 23rd Dec. 1607, at Chelsea. He inherited the loyalty of his ancestors; and a heavy fine was imposed upon him as a delinquent, on payment of which he received a certificate from the committee sitting at Newcastle, dated 27th Sept. 1649.—*Orig. Bowes MS.* He married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Anthony Maxton, prebendary of Durham, and chaplain to Charles I, a lady of powerful and vigorous intellect; and whose widowhood of forty-four years was dedicated to the preservation of the property of the family, which had suffered severely, in all its branches, from its inherent loyalty. By his said wife Thomas Bowes had six sons and four daughters:—

1.—Talbot; and 3—Anthony, died in infancy.

2.—Thomas, died in the twentieth year of his age.

4.—William.

5.—John, of Trinity College, Cambridge, A. M., rector of Elwick, 14th Oct. 1701; of Bishopwearmouth, 6th Sept. 1715; prebendary of the fifth stall, 21st April, 1696; afterwards of the first stall, 2nd May, 1712. He died on the 14th Jan. 1721-2, unmarried, and was buried in Durham cathedral.

6.—George, solicitor-general to Lord Crewe, bishop of Durham, and recorder of the city of Durham: he married Ann, widow of Gilbert Machon. He died 14th May, 1724, but left no surviving issue.

Of the daughters of Thomas Bowes:—

1.—Anne, died unmarried, and was buried in Durham cathedral, 18th Nov. 1715.

2.—Maxton, married Sir William Dawson, of Azerley, near Ripon.

3.—Jane, died unmarried, and was buried 14th April, 1746, in Durham cathedral.

4.—Dorothy, died young.

William Bowes, above named, was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, 26th May, 1672; entered of Gray's Inn, 4th June, of the same year. He was employed abroad under Sir Leoline Jenkins; and, after the peace of Nimeguen, travelled into France, and other European countries. He was elected M. P. for the county of Durham in August, 1679; and also returned in 1680, 1695, 1702, and 1705. He was knighted by Charles II, at Whitehall, 13th April, 1684; and appointed master forester and chief warden of all the King's forests and chases in the lordship of Barnard Castle, Teasdale, and Marwood, July 15, 1685.

He raised a troop of horse in 1688, which was reviewed by the *spiritual* Lord Lieutenant, (Lord Crewe,)* on the Palace Green, on the 6th November.

From letters in the Bowes collection, obscure hints appear to the effect that, he might have been created a Knight of the Bath, or even an Irish Viscount, without much difficulty; but his ambition appears to have been bounded by the representation of the county of Durham.

He married Elizabeth,† eldest daughter, and at length sole

* It is related, in the anecdotes of Lord Crewe, that, when as lord lieutenant, he presented a "list of gentlemen to the King and council, whom he thinks fit to be employed as deputy lieutenants." "In perusing my lord's list," says the King,—"My lord, I dont like that name of Frank Bowes." "Sire," says my lord, "the name is a good name if you will put *William* instead of Frank."—8vo. 1790.

† "The two lines of Bowes were re-united in blood, in the third and fourth descent from the common ancestor, by the inter-marriage of Sir William Bowes, grand-nephew of Sir Talbot, with Elizabeth Blakiston, of Gibside, whose mother was Anne, daughter of Sir George Bowes, of Biddic."—*Surtees*, *v.* 4, *p.* 106.

heir of Sir Francis Blakiston, of Gibside, baronet, and closed a useful, honoured, and well-spent life, at the "Gold-spikes," in Bedford-street, London, and was buried at Barnard Castle, 11th Feb. 1706.

Sir William left four sons and five daughters :—

1.—William Blakiston, born 1st Jan. 1697, in Duke-street, Westminster, who (with his brothers) received his early education at the Grammar School, Durham. He was admitted a Fellow commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, 25th Sept. 1707. He was a considerable traveller; and an extensive collector of books. He seems to have suffered severely from constant ill health; and he died, intestate, at the premature age of 24, on the 7th October, 1721.

2.—Thomas, born at Gibside, 18th May, 1700; died at Kensington, at the early age of 22.

3.—George.

4.—John, born 9th April, 1705; who died of the small pox, in 1714.

Of the daughters :—

1.—Anne, born 24th October, 1695, at Streatlam; married (by her uncle, the Rev. John Bowes, 11th June, 1713,) to Edward Chaloner, of Guisborough, esq. She was buried in the family vault at Barnard Castle, 6th Nov. 1734.

2.—Jane, born 20th Aug. 1703; died, unmarried, and was buried at St. Mary's, Durham, 23rd November, 1770.

3.—Margaret, born 15th April, 1707, three months after her father's decease; married, 21st September, 1745, Thomas Liddell, of Newton Hall, esq., (brother of Henry, Lord Ravensworth.)

George Bowes, above named, was born 21st Aug. 1701. By the death of his two elder brothers he became possessed of the family estates. He was a captain in a regular regiment of horse, in 1722; but soon afterwards retired from the service. In 1723, he was a candidate for the representation of Berwick. He married, 10th Oct. 1724, Eleanor, the beautiful daughter and sole heiress of the Hon. Thomas Verney, son of George, Lord Willoughby de Broke, by Eleanor,* daughter of Thomas,

* This lady continued to correspond with Mr. Bowes, for many years afterwards; and her letters prove that she possessed an abundant fund of good humour, fertile wit, and

Lord Leigh; but his happiness was of short duration, for his young wife, only fourteen years of age, died on the 14th Dec. following, to the great and lasting grief of her husband,* who continued a widower for nineteen years afterwards.

He contested the representation of Morpeth, 21st of Aug. 1727; and, two days afterwards, he was returned M. P. for the county of Durham, which he continued to represent in the successive parliaments of 1734, 1741, 1747, and 1754. He was chairman of the grand jury in the years 1730, 36, 38, 41, 46, 47, 50, 53, and 57; and was an active and able magistrate, as well as an efficient member of parliament.

In June, 1743, he married, secondly, Mary, the only child of Edward Gilbert, of Paul's Walden, in co. Hertford, esq.

In 1745, he took a leading share in raising forces to repel the progress of the pretender. He was appointed deputy-

playful fancy. On one occasion she writes to Mr. Dawson, the following *Enquiry after a Northern M. P. supposed to be lost or mislaid, at the last Masquerade*:—

"He's above six feet in height,
Would he walk but upright;
But he stoops in the shoulders,
To the grief of beholders.
His complexion is good,
It shews sound flesh and blood.
A well furnished head,
And his lips coral red.
His mouth and nose small,
But pretty withal.
His eyes grey as a cat,
But no matter for that.
His teeth white as milk,
His hands soft as silk,
Handsome legs,—*autre chose*—
And his name is—GEORGE BOWES."

* How keenly Mr. Bowes felt the death of his wife, is strongly and vividly expressed in a letter to his wife's mother, of which the following is an extract;—

"My dear wifes sudden death so contracted my spirits, and plunged them in a deep sense of just sorrow, that it was sometime before I could recall either my senses or religion, to tell me that it was done by the hand of God, or my patience to support me in the greatest afflictions; for on her life did not only my future happiness depend in this world, but such was her gravity and sweetness of mien—the affability of all her comportments—the virtue, innocence, and goodnes of her life—together with her great humility and exemplary devotion—that by living with her, the most accomplished of her sex, I might have copyed after her, and so, not only have been partaker with her in the happiness of this transitory life, but in the eternal rewards in the kingdom of Heaven."

The body was laid in state in the Jerusalem chamber, and thence interred in the vault called the Duke of Ormond's, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey, with great pomp and solemnity, 19 Dec.

lieutenant, 14th September; a captain of the first troop of horse militia, 21st September; and colonel of the armed association, on the 15th October following. After a useful and honourable career in the service of his country, he died on the 17th September, 1760.* By his second wife, he left an only child, born on the 24th February, 1748-9; who was named Eleanor-Mary, in friendly *compliment* to the mother of his first wife, and affectionate regard to the name of his second wife (who died in Jan. 1781).

Eleanor-Mary, the sole representative of the Knight-Marshal and Jane Talbot, and heiress of the house of Streatlam, married (24th Feb. 1761) John Lyon, ninth Earl of Strathmore, who took the name of Bowes, in compliance with the will of his wife's father, by act of parliament, 1767; and his eldest son, John Bowes, tenth Earl of Strathmore, who was a cornet in the "blues" 15th Nov. 1786, and captain in the 65th foot 15th May 1789. He retired from the army 2nd Feb. 1791. He was elected a representative peer of Scotland in 1796, 1802, and 1807, and was created (7th August, 1815) an English peer, by the title of Baron Bowes, of Streatlam Castle, in the county palatine of Durham, and of Lunedale, in the county of York. At his own expense, he raised the Derwent infantry and Gibside cavalry, which he commanded.

He died on the 3rd July, 1820, and was buried in the chapel at Gibside. His widow re-married (18th March, 1831) William Hutt, esq. M. P. for Hull.

* Mr. Bowes was one of the most popular men of his time. In Sept. 1722, he received from the Duke of Kingston and Lord Carlisle, a tender of the Lady Jane Wharton's hand and fortune (*Bowes* MS. *B.* 25). He lived principally at Gibside, which he planted and improved according to the fashion of the period. The mausoleum and column were built by James Payne. The column is a doric pillar of Portland stone, of matchless proportion, surmounted by a gilded figure of Liberty. The expense of its erection is stated at £571. 18s. 8½d. (*Bowes MS.*) Mr. Bowes entered warmly into all the sports of the field; was a distinguished member of the turf, and kept an excellent stud. He presented a horse to the Duke of Cumberland, on which he rode into Newcastle on the 28th January, 1746. His celebrated horse Cato won the first King's plate ever run for at Newcastle, which is commemorated by the following inscription on a salver still in the possession of the corporation:—

"The first royal purse of one hundred guineas, run for at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was won 25th June, 1753, by a bay horse called CATO, belonging to George Bowes, Esq. who generously presented it to the corporation, to purchase a piece of plate in remembrance of his Majesty's grace and favor."

Mr. Bowes died at Gibside and was buried at Whickham; his remains were afterwards removed to the chapel of Gibside. The pall was supported by Lord Ravensworth, Sir Thomas Clavering, Sir Walter Blackett, Sir Henry Grey, baronets; Edward Montague, Matthew Ridley, John Tempest, and Henry Lambton, esquires.

John Bowes, of Streatlam,* esq. M. P. for the southern division of the county of Durham, lieutenant-colonel of the

* The noble mansion of Streatlam, now the principal residence of John Bowes, Esq. M. P. for the southern division of the county of Durham, consists of a centre and two wings; and although it presents an imposing front of 152 feet in length, yet this is less by 12 feet than the front of the former castle, on whose site it stands, many parts of which have been built upon or enclosed within the present structure.

The original castle, which was probably built by the Baliols, was the residence of the antient family of Trayne, and became the property of the family of Bowes, by the marriage of Sir Adam Bowes with the heiress of Trayne.

Sir William, his lineal descendant, Chamberlain to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, rebuilt the castle after a Norman model about 1450, *a fundamentis (Leland, Itin. v.* 4). Sir William married a daughter of Lord Greystoke, and his arms impaling those of his wife occur twice in the north wall of the present castle, which probably occupied a more conspicuous position on the castle which he built himself, and have been transferred during the more recent alterations;

and there is also cut in stone, a rather singular representation of the seal of Sir William Bowes, with the arms of Baliol, Dalden, Greystock, and De-la-Haye in the margin, thus conveying a strong presumption that an intimate connection existed between the families whose armorial ensigns are so prominently displayed.

Durham militia, and (during the recent absence of the Duke of Cleveland,) vice-lieutenant of the county, is in possession of

Of the state and condition of the castle previous to the Rebellion of 1569, there is no record, nor any indications to trace its figure, strength, or magnitude. It may be presumed to have offered some resistance to the Rebels; for although Sir George had shut himself up in the Queen's castle of Barnard Castle, with his friends, kinsmen, and tenants, as early as the 27th of November, yet Streatlam was not won until the 4th of December; and was evacuated on the approach of the Queen's troops on the 16th December. During this period, however, the rebels committed every species of wanton excess and depredation: tearing out the glass windows and iron stanchions, and carrying away every thing which could possibly be removed; so that the loss sustained by Sir George, was estimated, at Streatlam alone, at £1260 (*Bowes MS. v.* 2, *p.* 32). Amongst the articles plundered on this occasion, were a "gilded" suit of armour which stood in the gallery; "40 fether beds; the hangings of tapestry, for ij chambers; the hangings of say, for iij chambers; a gowne of plaine black velvat, a gowne of tawnye velvat, and one of black wrought velvat; a fore parte of blacke velvat, laide all over with lace of goulde; one of black velvat laid all over with bonne lace of silver and goulde; a kyrtle of crimisin damaske, and overbodie of blacke velvat, all imbroderyd; a dobblet of white satten; as moche longe frenge and narrow frenge as would dresse a saddle and a pillion; a littell gilted cofer, with half a dosen peaces of goldesmithe worke; a dosen great pearle; a blew sayfer and an amytas; one paire of crymisin velvat bretches, laid all over with silver lace; ij tunes of gascoigne wine, one firkin of sacke; iiij tents, with their furniture," &c. &c. (*Bowes MS. v.* 8, *p.* 20). The work of destruction had been so complete, that Sir George was obliged to take up his residence at the Isle, for several months afterwards; and he was unable to receive the Earl of Sussex, at Streatlam until the 10th September following.

The present mansion—still retaining a considerable portion of the old castle in its ponderous walls—though shorn of its power "to laugh a seige to scorn," has a massy and solid appearance. It was new fronted and modernized by Sir William Bowes, great grandson to the Knight Marshal, in 1703, 9, and 10; and the stone was won from the quarries of Stainton and Lingbury. Sir William was evidently moved by a chivalrous sentiment of veneration for the ancient castle of his family, when he preserved so much of the old walls, and retained them as foundations for a modern mansion; which singularly combines grandeur with elegance and convenience.

The castle fronts the south. The prospect is bounded by the park. Immediately in front of the castle there is a deep ravine, through which a rivulet, or beck, wends its tortuous course, changing its name in its progress; being called, before it enters the park —the Forth-burn; as it passes the front of the castle—the Streatlam bec; and before it mingles with the waters of the Tees it becomes—the Alwent-burn.

To the east and west of the castle, the bosky ravine is shaded by ancient sycamores. The general features of the situation are quiet grandeur and solemnity; and the position does not convey the forbidding aspect which has been ascribed to it so generally by tourists, though it has evidently been chosen and retained from more imperious considerations than the smiling and picturesque beauty of the landscape. From the upper portion of the castle, rich and beautiful views of bold and undulating country are obtained;—the boundary, to the south east, being the Hamilton hills, which have been designated the Alps of England.

It would now be difficult to trace any thing like a correct outline of the old castle, with its outworks and defences; yet a considerable portion of its walls has been retained in the modern building, and may be observed at the back of the castle, and at the western wing; and even the thickness and solidity of the southern front, more particularly towards the western extremity, where the remains of a square tower are evident, would tend to show that the original walls have been largely built upon.

At the west end of the castle, and below the level of the present passage, there was formerly an iron "grille," which separated that portion which was called the dungeon from the more habitable part; and rings were fixed in the wall, to some of which chains were attached, showing but too clearly the uses to which the dungeon had been applied.

In 1580, after the death of Sir George, four vaults are mentioned in the inventory of his household furniture; one of which was called the "great vault"; beside "Haddox hole,"

all the English estates of the junior branch of the ancient family of Bowes.

which was the lower dungeon. The dungeons were below the great hall, which was again below the chapel; and the "low chapel chamber," and the "high chapel chamber" are also named; at the west end of the present building, even to this day, two pointed arches still remain, which have been built up, and which evidently were used to give light to the chapel of former days.

Towards the north-east end of the present mansion there was, within the memory of man, a gateway, a moat, and a draw-bridge; and the broken ground, hastily levelled, when dug into, shows the remains of former buildings; and, within the last fifty years, there was a large pond, at this part, called the "moat;" and to the north of the western wing, there was a sort of walled and deep tank, in which articles of value were secreted, in times of danger and alarm.

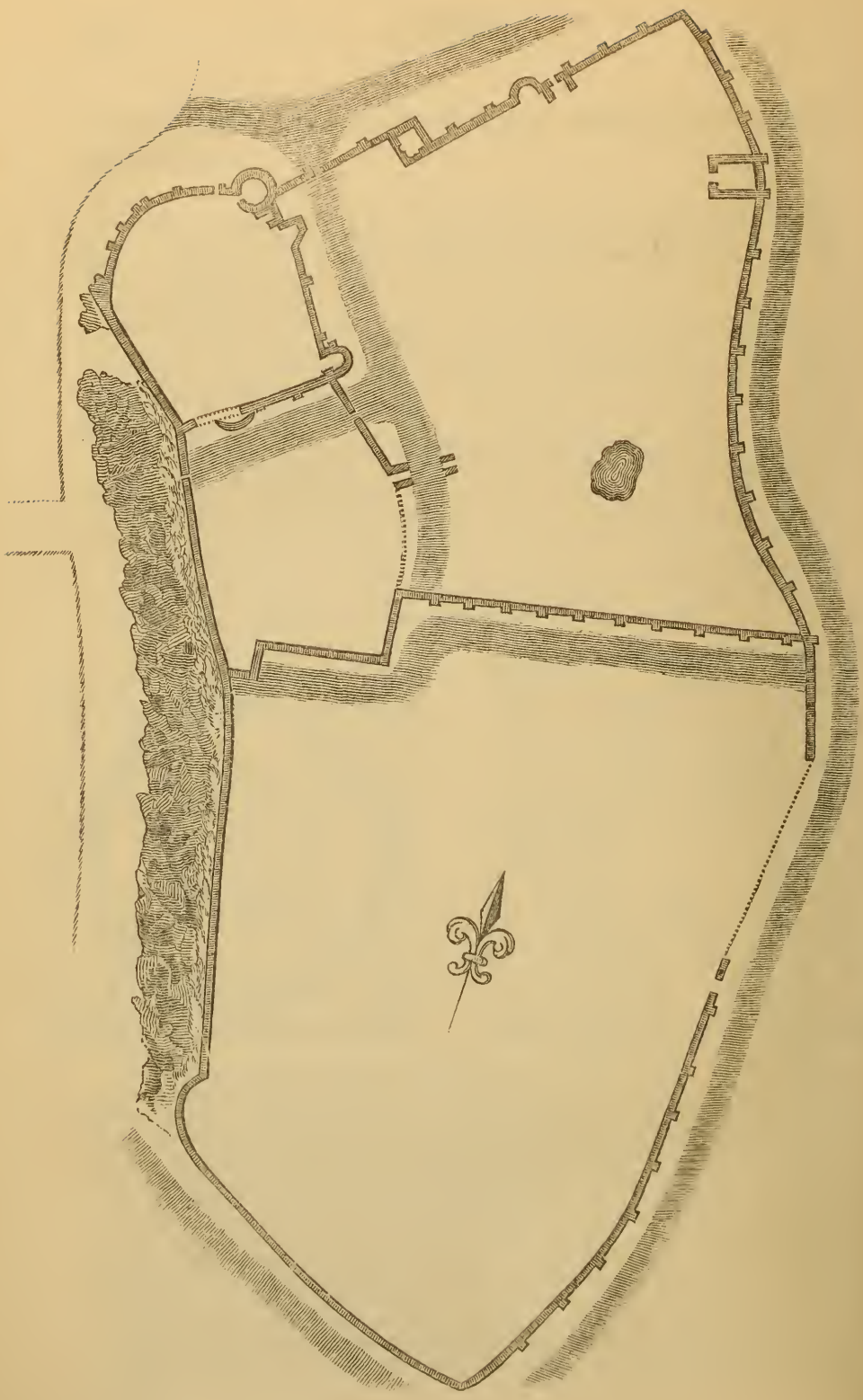
A heavy cuirass, and a helmet, are preserved at Streatlam, reputed to have been worn by Sir George Bowes; and the room in which he died has still the reputation of being subject to his occasional visitations.

Several human skeletons and remains have been found to the north and north-east of the castle; and two skulls were long preserved, which had been found there, supposed to have belonged to persons hastily interred.

The park which surrounds Streatlam is highly picturesque, and embraces an extent of about four hundred acres; of which above one-fourth are planted. The most ancient trees in the park, and which seem to be indigenous, are the ash and the sycamore.

The principal family portraits at Streatlam are:—Sir George Bowes, Knight Marshal, *Anno Dom.* 1572, *Ætatis*, 45; Sir George Bowes, his grandson, in the dress of a gentleman pensioner, Æt. 32, 1628; a portrait unknown, dressed in a buff jerkin; Mrs. Bowes, widow of Thomas, (Miss Maxton) *Anno, Ætatis* 65, *Domini* 1688, *viduitatis* 29; Sir William Bowes, and Lady Bowes, with their daughters, and sons, William Blakiston and Thomas; George Bowes, esq. in his favourite blue frock coat; and several portraits of his first wife, the beautiful Miss Verney; Eleanor-Mary Bowes, afterwards Countess of Strathmore, in crayons; John Lyon, 9th Earl of Strathmore, painted in 1762, "*John Earl of Strathmore, given to his son, by Thomas, Lord Camelford*"; John Bowes, 10th Earl of Strathmore, in the uniform of the "blues"; John Bowes, esq. in a spanish dress, by Jackson: Sir Martin Bowes, (not of the Streatlam line,) "*The gift of the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons.*"

There are also several pictures by eminent masters; a portrait of the Archduke Albert, by Rubens; a Fruit Stall by Snyders, as well as a Boar Hunt and Game Stall; the Holy Family, by Annibal Caracci, after Raphael; and several other smaller paintings by eminent masters.



BARNARD CASTLE.*

Barnard Baliol, son of Guy, who came into England with the conqueror, built this castle, which he called "Castle-Barnard;" and it remained in his family until the attainder of John Baliol, King of Scotland, when it was granted by Ed. I. to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in whose descendants it remained for nearly two centuries. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, (afterwards Richard III.) was Lord of Barnard Castle, by a somewhat doubtful right of his wife, the Lady Anne, youngest daughter and coheir of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, by Anne, sister and heir to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick. The Duke of Gloucester, (*Surtees*, *v.* 4, *p.* 66) was "popular in the north, where he was best known. He followed the fortunes of his brother Edward, with unshaken fidelity, through many a bloody field; and when the title of York was established, his conduct won the affection of those northern counties in which, from the united influence of the great houses of Percy, Nevill, and Clifford, the Lancastrian interest had been most prevalent. How far the prospect of a crown afterwards led him to tread the dangerous paths of bloodshed and deceit, is a portion of history on which impenetrable darkness seems to have descended." "Barnard Castle," he adds, "appears to have been the frequent residence of Gloucester, and to owe to him much of repair and restoration. No coat or badge of the Beauchamps appears on her walls; but the boar, the cognizance of Richard, is still seen in the bay window of one of the principal chambers, (where we may well suppose the duke himself sat,) and on frag-

* The opposite ground plan is taken from Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales, v. 11, p. 89: the quantity of land enclosed within the walls of Barnard Castle is stated at 6a. 3r. 3p.—1775.

ments scattered over the town,* in houses built from the ruins of the castle."

From the death of Richard the III., the castle appears to have remained in the possession of the crown; and though occasionally claimed by the prince palatine, there is no evidence to shew that it ever belonged to the Earls of Westmoreland. It was granted to the favorite Somerset, and resumed on his condemnation; and was afterwards sold to Sir Henry Vane the elder, and is now the property of his lineal descendant, William Harry, Duke of Cleveland, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Durham.

The earliest description of Barnard Castle occurs in Leland, who truly says, that it "*stondith stately apon Tese.* The first area hath no very notable thing yn it, but the fair chapelle. The inner area is very large, and partely motid, and welle furnishid with toures of great logging. Ther belong two parkes to this castelle: the one is caullid Marwood; and thereby is a chace that berith also the name of Marwood, and that goith on Tese ripe up into Tesedale."

"Though the *fair chapelle* (says *Surtees*, *v.* 4, *p.* 87) has totally perished, the ground plot as described by Leland, and the division of the outward and inner area, may be still most distinctly traced. The fortress stood, probably in all its princely strength, when Sir George Bowes, in 1569, stood a siege of eleven days against the whole force of the insurgent earls."

The old ballad says:—

"The outermost walls were eathe to win;
The earls have won them presentlie."

and Mr. Surtees concludes, from the ballad authority, "that

* The town of Barnard Castle has been sketched by Mr. Surtees, in his happiest vein —"From whatever front observed, Barnard Castle, standing cheerfully on her southern slope, and grouping her varied buildings around and under the church and ruined castle, presents an interesting object, and not ill fulfils the idea of the capital of a wild but lovely district, half river-valley, half hill and heath and moorland. The borough itself, in the midst of much modern improvement, is sprinkled over with remaining vestiges of antiquity: here and there a house retains its ancient mullioned windows and stone gateway, or exhibits, built up in its masonry, fragments from the castle or its chapel; and, not least, the cognizance of Richard still existing, throws a gleam of interest over the ancient moorland borough, which is wanting in many place of greater wealth and pretension." —*Surtees*, *v.* 4, *p.* 79. See also "Castle Barnard," a poem, 1823, by G. Layton, and "A Tour in Teesdale," by Richard Garland, of Hull, both valuable and instructive companions to the visitors of Barnard Castle.

the insurgents got possession of the outer area; but were baffled before the chief strength of the place, or citadel as it might be termed, within the inner moat."

The account of the surrender of the castle, by Sir George Bowes (*page* 100), does not materially differ from the ballad authority; and as the treacherous part of his own garrison threw open the outer gates, Sir George would naturally be driven into the strong hold or citadel as a last defence.

To an extent of above six acres, the means of Sir George, hastily collected together, were very inadequate; yet, if his garrison had proved true; such were his acknowledged military skill, valour, and prudence, there can be little doubt that he would have baffled the attacks of the insurgents.

Mr. Surtees quotes largely from Hutchinson,* and then gives the following account, which, as the editor was his constant companion, on his visitations to Barnard Castle, whilst he was preparing the fourth volume of the History of Durham, and was with him when it was written, he cannot resist the pleasure of extracting; as it conveys a clear and graphic account of the present state of these splendid ruins; and which will be materially aided by an occasional reference to the ground plan of Grose, taken in 1775:—"Nothing but the vast strength of its walls has preserved the shell of this noble fortress from the attacks of time, neglect, and constant dilapidation. Entering the gateway leading from the main street or market, (behind the two principal inns,) the outer area where Leland places the chapel, presents the appearance of an open and nearly level close of pasturage, included by three sides of the castle wall, and divided on the north from the inner areas, by a deep moat and wall. A portion of this outer area on the east and south-east, has been inclosed for plots of garden ground, which it is necessary to enter, to trace the sweep of the walls running along the edge of the crag above Briggate, and, after forming an obtuse angle at the southern point, turning westward, still commanding the low suburb and the passage to the bridge. In this portion of the walls, as Hutchinson observes, there is no

* A native and resident of Barnard Castle, to whose history the reader is referred.—*Vol.* 3, *p.* 246.

appearance of tower or bastion, nor, it may be added, any but the most indistinct traces of building in the interior. A portion of this plot perhaps always lay open in pasturage. The inner area, or rather the two inner areas, lying north of the moat already described, have been surrounded by defences of a much loftier description. The chief strength, or dungeon-tower of the fortress, (that portion perhaps which baffled the rebel earls after they had won the outer walls,) has evidently occupied the north-western area. The site is more elevated than any other within the walls, and encompassed on the south and east by a deep inner moat, which, with a strong wall of good masonry, divides it from the northern or orchard area. This spot, where the principal buildings both for defence and habitation seem to have stood, is now converted into garden ground. The larger area to the north-east, is still more completely covered by a thick, intricate orchard, which precludes all attempt at ascertaining the interior dispositions of the site. A large pond, nearly in the middle of the orchard, is never dry. The walls of these two inner areas are still most magnificent. To the west of the sallyport, marked in the plan as leading to the bridge, a huge rifted fragment is nodding to its fall. Then a wall of excellent masonry runs northward, with tall buttresses and two-pointed lights. Further northward a beautiful mullioned window, hung on projecting corbels, still exhibits withinside, on the soffit of its arch, the boar of Richard, with some elegant tracery, plainly marking the latest portion of the castle to be the work of Gloucester. A little further the great circular tower,* of admirable and perfect ashlar work, guards the north-western angle of the fortress. The view of the whole of this range of wall and tower from the bridge, or from the narrow terrace betwixt the castle crag and the river, is most magnificent. From the round tower, whose flight of steps and vaulted roof are still perfect, the walls turn eastward; in the centre of this northern line, a gateway leads to the flats, flanked by a semi-round tower. There is no appearance of any bastion at the north-eastern angle; but a little be-

* This tower is called, in some half-legible papers, the Bowes tower; and it would seem that a castle-rent was paid to support it. Sellaby paid a similar rent towards the support of the Blackenbury tower.

yond the angle are the remains of Brackenbury's tower*—(named either from the service of castle-ward, by which that family held their lands, or from an officer of that name). An arched vault, open in front, alone remains : the appearance is that of a gloomy dungeon. On the left are traces of a hearth and chimney, and two niches, perhaps for seats, on the right ; there is a small aperture some height from the ground, for admitting air, or letting down provisions. The eastern wall is covered by the backs of the houses in the horse market, and has suffered various encroachments."

After the rebellion the castle was neglected, and fell into decay. In 1579, Sir George Bowes† earnestly entreats the Lord Treasurer to be permitted to cut down sixty trees in Marwood hagg and Gainford wood, to repair the bridges, the south tower, the west gate house, and Brackenbury tower ; and in 1581, a personal application from Robert Bowes, on the part of his brother William, is equally unsuccessful ; as the treasurer told him that "the charge was greate, and so greate as he wold not direct the same, alone."—*Bowes MS. v.* 7, *p.* 32. In the inventory of 1592, although "the leads over all the towers and lodging are in reasonable good repair," yet the enumeration of "windows without glass, and doors without locks," shows that the castle was untenanted, and was then suffering from the injuries of the weather (*Surtees, vol.* 4, *p.* 87). From that time it does not appear to have been inhabited,‡ but has gradually mouldered away through exposure, neglect, and want of repair, to its present desolate condition, and now only

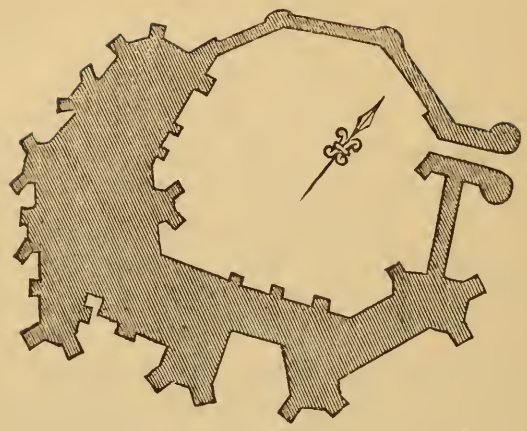
"Serves to recognize the destructive ravages of time."—HERVEY.

* "Brackenbury's gloomy weed-capt tower."—*Layton.*

† Sir George Bowes had a lease of the park of Barnard Castle from the Queen in 1569, for which his brother Robert paid £60.—*Bowes MS.*

‡ The "late impregnable" fort of Barnard Castle is said to have been "pulled downe" in 1630; and the writer of "Certaine observations, 1634, (*MS. D. & C. Library*) exclaims, "it had been a happy thing for us, and the whole kingdome, if the founder thereof had covered it with slate or straw. Oh! misery! can £1000 worth of leade, iron, wood, and stone, be worth more than a castle, which might have been a receptacle for a king and his whole traine."

Buck's View in 1728, presents it still as a formidable ruin, and the "keep" shews great solidity and strength. When Hutchinson wrote, he says, "it is not possible to form any competent idea, by the present ruins, what this fortress was in its original state, or greatest strength;" and since his time "much has fallen, and many of the interior buildings have been almost obliterated."



BRANCEPATH CASTLE.*

Brancepath has been so accurately and minutely described by Hutchinson, (vol. 3, p. 312) that little can be gleaned by his successors; yet having been the seat of the last Earl of Westmoreland, and the place of meeting of the confederates, some slight notice may not be irrelevant. It became the possession of the Nevills, by the marriage of Geoffrey de Nevill, grandson of Gilbert, (who came in with the Conqueror,) with Emma, daughter and heir of Bertram de Bulmer, lord of Brancepath, whose only daughter, Isabel, heir of her brother, Henry de Nevill, married Robert Fitz-Maldred, lord of Raby, whose son, Geoffrey, assumed the name of Nevill; and Brancepath continued in his lineal descendants until the attainder of Charles Nevill, sixth earl of Westmoreland.

The earliest description of Brancepath is given by Leland, who says,—"The village and castelle of Branspeth stondith on a rokky, among hilles higher then it.† On the southe west part of the castelle cummith doune a litle bek out o the rokkes and hilles not far of. The castelle of Branspeth is stronly set and buildid, and hath 2 courtes of high building. There is a litle mote that hemmith a great peice of the first court. In this courte be 3 toures of logging, and 3 smaule *ad ornamentum*. The

* This ground plan of the castle and court-yard is from a survey recently taken by W. J. Ware, Esq., on a scale of three chains to an inch; and they cover a space of 2a. 0r. 5p.

† This, however, is not exactly correct.

pleasure of the castelle is in the 2 court; and entering into it by a great toure, I saw in schochin in the fronte of it, a lion rampaunt. Sum say that Rafe Nevile, the first Erle of Westmerland, buildid much of this house. The Erle that is now hath set a new peace of worke to it."

On the flight of the last earl, Brancepath was seized by the crown; though, up to the 28th June, 1570, it remained in the custody of the officers of Lady Westmorland, "who I thinke will answer upon ther lives for any thing don therein." *Lord Sussex to Cecil, from Alnwick.—S. P.* On the Earl's attainder it was vested in the crown; and so remained until King James I. granted * it to his favorite, Robert Carr, in 1613, creating him Baron Brancepath, and Earl of Somerset.†

In a commission to enquire into the state and condition of the castle and manors (1614) it appears that "the castle was, at the earl's departure, in very good state and repair, and well furnished, fitting his honor and degree, but the same is now much ruined, wasted, and decayed;" and, shortly afterwards, it is stated by Thomas Emerson, esq. steward and surveyor general of all the manors &c. belonging to the Earl of Somerset—that the glass windows of many of the best rooms are made of extraordinary Normandy glass, and wrought with arms and imagery worked in roundells—that the gallery is adorned with the whole history of our Saviour Jesus Christ, from his birth to his ascension, the like not to be got "almost for anye money"; and in another enquiry into the power and authority possessed by the Earls of Westmoreland, signed by Geo. Brabant, Wm. Conyers, &c., it is stated that the lord of the manor had all waifs, estrays, goods of outlawed felons, fugitives, and all other forfeitures;—that the tenants were free from toll at Durham and Bishop Aukland (and John Rippon adds, Newcastle);—and, that the Earl's bailiff served the writs of the sheriff in the manor; and

* The grant is stated to be in "fee simple," of the lordships of Raby, Brancepeth, and Barnard Castell, in the county of York, of the yearly value of £1038. 5. 8d. ob. qr. in consideration as well of the sum of £40266. 5. 5d. paid to his majestie, as of his service; and for the better supportacon of his honors and dignities, paying nevertheless to his majestie the yearly rent of £60.—*Privy Seal Records. Nov.* 1613.

† As Viscount Rochester, in June, 1611, he had a grant, by special command of the king of a lion passant guardant, or, taken from one of his majesties ensigns, for distinction 'betwixt his bearing and others of the same family."—*Privy Seal Records.*

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the insurgents got possession of the outer area; but were baffled before the chief strength of the place, or citadel as it might be termed, within the inner moat."

The account of the surrender of the castle, by Sir George Bowes (*page* 100), does not materially differ from the ballad authority; and as the treacherous part of his own garrison threw open the outer gates, Sir George would naturally be driven into the strong hold or citadel as a last defence.

To an extent of above six acres, the means of Sir George, hastily collected together, were very inadequate; yet, if his garrison had proved true; such were his acknowledged military skill, valour, and prudence, there can be little doubt that he would have baffled the attacks of the insurgents.

Mr. Surtees quotes largely from Hutchinson,* and then gives the following account, which, as the editor was his constant companion, on his visitations to Barnard Castle, whilst he was preparing the fourth volume of the History of Durham, and was with him when it was written, he cannot resist the pleasure of extracting; as it conveys a clear and graphic account of the present state of these splendid ruins; and which will be materially aided by an occasional reference to the ground plan of Grose, taken in 1775:—"Nothing but the vast strength of its walls has preserved the shell of this noble fortress from the attacks of time, neglect, and constant dilapidation. Entering the gateway leading from the main street or market, (behind the two principal inns,) the outer area where Leland places the chapel, presents the appearance of an open and nearly level close of pasturage, included by three sides of the castle wall, and divided on the north from the inner areas, by a deep moat and wall. A portion of this outer area on the east and south-east, has been inclosed for plots of garden ground, which it is necessary to enter, to trace the sweep of the walls running along the edge of the crag above Briggate, and, after forming an obtuse angle at the southern point, turning westward, still commanding the low suburb and the passage to the bridge. In this portion of the walls, as Hutchinson observes, there is no

* A native and resident of Barnard Castle, to whose history the reader is referred — *Vol. 3, p. 246.*

appearance of tower or bastion, nor, it may be added, any but the most indistinct traces of building in the interior. A portion of this plot perhaps always lay open in pasturage. The inner area, or rather the two inner areas, lying north of the moat already described, have been surrounded by defences of a much loftier description. The chief strength, or dungeon-tower of the fortress, (that portion perhaps which baffled the rebel earls after they had won the outer walls,) has evidently occupied the north-western area. The site is more elevated than any other within the walls, and encompassed on the south and east by a deep inner moat, which, with a strong wall of good masonry, divides it from the northern or orchard area. This spot, where the principal buildings both for defence and habitation seem to have stood, is now converted into garden ground. The larger area to the north-east, is still more completely covered by a thick, intricate orchard, which precludes all attempt at ascertaining the interior dispositions of the site. A large pond, nearly in the middle of the orchard, is never dry. The walls of these two inner areas are still most magnificent. To the west of the sallyport, marked in the plan as leading to the bridge, a huge rifted fragment is nodding to its fall. Then a wall of excellent masonry runs northward, with tall buttresses and two-pointed lights. Further northward a beautiful mullioned window, hung on projecting corbels, still exhibits withinside, on the soffit of its arch, the boar of Richard, with some elegant tracery, plainly marking the latest portion of the castle to be the work of Gloucester. A little further the great circular tower,* of admirable and perfect ashlar work, guards the north-western angle of the fortress. The view of the whole of this range of wall and tower from the bridge, or from the narrow terrace betwixt the castle crag and the river, is most magnificent. From the round tower, whose flight of steps and vaulted roof are still perfect, the walls turn eastward; in the centre of this northern line, a gateway leads to the flats, flanked by a semi-round tower. There is no appearance of any bastion at the north-eastern angle; but a little be-

* This tower is called, in some half-legible papers, the Bowes tower; and it would seem that a castle-rent was paid to support it. Sellaby paid a similar rent towards the support of the Brackenbury tower.

yond the angle are the remains of Brackenbury's tower*—(named either from the service of castle-ward, by which that family held their lands, or from an officer of that name). An arched vault, open in front, alone remains: the appearance is that of a gloomy dungeon. On the left are traces of a hearth and chimney, and two niches, perhaps for seats, on the right; there is a small aperture some height from the ground, for admitting air, or letting down provisions. The eastern wall is covered by the backs of the houses in the horse market, and has suffered various encroachments."

After the rebellion the castle was neglected, and fell into decay. In 1579, Sir George Bowes† earnestly entreats the Lord Treasurer to be permitted to cut down sixty trees in Marwood hagg and Gainford wood, to repair the bridges, the south tower, the west gate house, and Brackenbury tower; and in 1581, a personal application from Robert Bowes, on the part of his brother William, is equally unsuccessful; as the treasurer told him that "the charge was greate, and so greate as he wold not direct the same, alone."—*Bowes MS. v.* 7, *p.* 32. In the inventory of 1592, although "the leads over all the towers and lodging are in reasonable good repair," yet the enumeration of "windows without glass, and doors without locks," shows that the castle was untenanted, and was then suffering from the injuries of the weather (*Surtees, vol.* 4, *p.* 87). From that time it does not appear to have been inhabited,‡ but has gradually mouldered away through exposure, neglect, and want of repair, to its present desolate condition, and now only

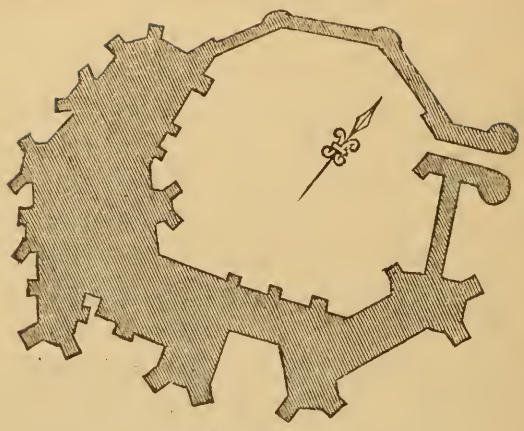
"Serves to recognize the destructive ravages of time."—HERVEY.

* "Brackenbury's gloomy weed-capt tower."—*Layton.*

† Sir George Bowes had a lease of the park of Barnard Castle from the Queen in 1569, for which his brother Robert paid £60.—*Bowes MS.*

‡ The "late impregnable" fort of Barnard Castle is said to have been "pulled downe" in 1630; and the writer of "Certaine observations, 1634, (*MS. D. & C. Library*) exclaims, "it had been a happy thing for us, and the whole kingdome, if the founder thereof had covered it with slate or straw. Oh! misery! can £1000 worth of leade, iron, wood, and stone, be worth more than a castle, which might have been a receptacle for a king and his whole traine."

Buck's View in 1728, presents it still as a formidable ruin, and the "keep" shews great solidity and strength. When Hutchinson wrote, he says, "it is not possible to form any competent idea, by the present ruins, what this fortress was in its original state, or greatest strength;" and since his time "much has fallen, and many of the interior buildings have been almost obliterated."



BRANCEPATH CASTLE.*

Brancepath has been so accurately and minutely described by Hutchinson, (vol. 3, p. 312) that little can be gleaned by his successors; yet having been the seat of the last Earl of Westmoreland, and the place of meeting of the confederates, some slight notice may not be irrelevant. It became the possession of the Nevills, by the marriage of Geoffrey de Nevill, grandson of Gilbert, (who came in with the Conqueror,) with Emma, daughter and heir of Bertram de Bulmer, lord of Brancepath, whose only daughter, Isabel, heir of her brother, Henry de Nevill, married Robert Fitz-Maldred, lord of Raby, whose son, Geoffrey, assumed the name of Nevill; and Brancepath continued in his lineal descendants until the attainder of Charles Nevill, sixth earl of Westmoreland.

The earliest description of Brancepath is given by Leland, who says,—"The village and castelle of Branspeth stondith on a rokky, among hilles higher then it.† On the southe west part of the castelle cummith doune a litle bek out o the rokkes and hilles not far of. The castelle of Branspeth is stronly set and buildid, and hath 2 courtes of high building. There is a litle mote that hemmith a great peice of the first court. In this courte be 3 toures of logging, and 3 smaule *ad ornamentum*. The

* This ground plan of the castle and court-yard is from a survey recently taken by W. J. Ware, Esq., on a scale of three chains to an inch; and they cover a space of 2a. 0r. 5p.

† This, however, is not exactly correct.

pleasure of the castelle is in the 2 court; and entering into it by a great toure, I saw in schochin in the fronte of it, a lion rampaunt. Sum say that Rafe Nevile, the first Erle of Westmerland, buildid much of this house. The Erle that is now hath set a new peace of worke to it."

On the flight of the last earl, Brancepath was seized by the crown; though, up to the 28th June, 1570, it remained in the custody of the officers of Lady Westmorland, "who I thinke will answer upon ther lives for any thing don therein." *Lord Sussex to Cecil, from Alnwick.—S. P.* On the Earl's attainder it was vested in the crown; and so remained until King James I. granted * it to his favorite, Robert Carr, in 1613, creating him Baron Brancepath, and Earl of Somerset.†

In a commission to enquire into the state and condition of the castle and manors (1614) it appears that "the castle was, at the earl's departure, in very good state and repair, and well furnished, fitting his honor and degree, but the same is now much ruined, wasted, and decayed;" and, shortly afterwards, it is stated by Thomas Emerson, esq. steward and surveyor general of all the manors &c. belonging to the Earl of Somerset—that the glass windows of many of the best rooms are made of extraordinary Normandy glass, and wrought with arms and imagery worked in roundells—that the gallery is adorned with the whole history of our Saviour Jesus Christ, from his birth to his ascension, the like not to be got "almost for anye money"; and in another enquiry into the power and authority possessed by the Earls of Westmoreland, signed by Geo. Brabant, Wm. Conyers, &c., it is stated that the lord of the manor had all waifs, estrays, goods of outlawed felons, fugitives, and all other forfeitures;—that the tenants were free from toll at Durham and Bishop Aukland (and John Rippon adds, Newcastle);—and, that the Earl's bailiff served the writs of the sheriff in the manor; and

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recently inherited from his father, to its ancient extent and magnificence," under the able direction of Mr. John Patterson, of Edinburgh, and added another tower to the castle: the towers now are—the Constable's, the Essex, the Russell, (new from the foundation,) the Nevill, Bulmer, and St. Brandon; and this noble castle now combines the massy grandeur of the feudal baron, with the splendour and luxury of modern refinement.

Mr. Russell died in London on the 8th May, 1822, in the 57th year of his age.† By his wife Elizabeth, sister of the Right Honorable Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, of Bayons Manor, co. Lincoln, M. P., he had issue one son, William, (born 9th Nov. 1798) sometime M. P. for the county of Durham, to whom the castle and extensive estates belong, and one daughter, Emma-Maria, who married (9th Sept. 1828) the Hon. Gustavus Hamilton, eldest son of Viscount Boyne, by whom she has one son, Gustavus Russell Hamilton.

droyte," and the interstices were abundantly charged with the armorial ensigns of the order of the Garter, with faint traces of the motto; and also the "Nevill cross," encirled with a garter, but without any inscription, and sometimes surrounded with a kind of paling (see p. 305); and the intervening spaces were filled with blazing stars. The colours were indistinct, and could not be accurately determined; but the prevailing hue was red, much faded. The same motto occurs on a scutcheon of the Nevill arms, placed against the tower adjoining (see p. 289), but written "*moys droyte*." The windows of the drawing-room are splendidly illuminated by Collins, with portraits of Edward III. and Queen Philippa; Ralph Lord Neville, and Joane of Beaufort; and Richard, Duke of York, and Cicely Neville, The gallery window contains a view of the Battle of Neville's Cross, also by Collins.

The family portraits at Brancepath, are William Russell, Esq. and his grandson, painted by J. Russell, 1803; Matthew Russell, Esq and Mrs. Russell, by Harrison. The mantel piece in the breakfast room came from Newton Cap, and presents two elaborate *terms* of Locke and Newton.

† The general respect felt towards Major Russell, is not over drawn in his epitaph, at Brancepath.

"As a son, he was dutiful and pious—as a husband and a parent, devoted and affectionate. In his friendship, immutable, benevolent, just, and indulgent to all.

"Thus, when he departed this life, in the full enjoyment of all its blessings, he who was honoured, beloved, and mourned by numbers, who had experience of that worth which this monument will record, when they shall be more."

FINIS.

ERRATA, &c.

From the desultory manner in which these memorials were compiled, during periods of leisure and relaxation from more important duties, errors will occur, but the most prominent are perhaps the following:—

Page xvi, l. 21 (note)—place the comma *after* character *instead of* generally.

p. 4 (note)—*dele* second line.

p. 14, l. 3—*for* confetherates *read* comyng hether.

p. 14, l. 9—two words are wanting, which could not be made out; they read like "range awke." The hand-writing of Sussex, at all times difficult to decypher, is particularly so in this letter; the meaning is evidently similar to line 26, page 21, where the bells were rung to raise the country, and were rung *backwards*, according to the Chroniclers.

p. 37, l. 3—*for* tbree [score] *read* three hundred; *see* p. 322.

p. 161, l. 17 (note)—*for* one of *read* art sworne.

p. 165, l. 32 (note) *for* 2nd *read* 7th.

p. 195—Battes, would appear to be Barthick; *see* the answer, p. 201; the original is hard to decypher.

p. 295, l. 1—*for* has *read* have.

p. 302, l. 1—*for* desyre, &c., *read* Take care that the hundred crowns which you have lent to him be repaid to you by my treasurer.

p. 324—*for* 1571 *read* 1571-2.

p. 358, l. 12—after case, *read* sence (since).

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